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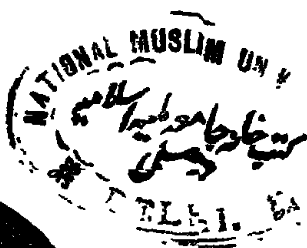
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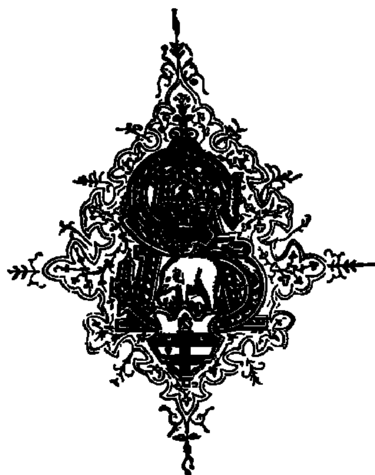




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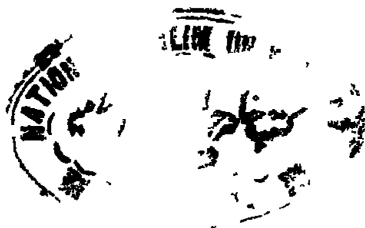
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PART I—JANUARY

The Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal

BY P. C. BARAT, B A.

SINCE the beginning of the present century students of Indian history have been making strenuous efforts to collect such materials as would help them to reconstruct the early history of Bengal. But so far they have not succeeded in ascertaining definitely even the dates of those kings of the Sena Dynasty who governed dominions of large extent and took rank among the great powers. The discovery of the era with which is associated the name of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva induced several well-known archæologists [1] to bring its initial date to bear on the history of Bengal. From the scanty data which were then available the late Professor Kielhorn after much laborious calculation definitely settled that the Lakṣmaṇa Samvat or La-Sam began in A.D. 1119–20. According to him the La-Sam was an ordinary Southern (*Kārttikādi*) year with *Amānta* scheme of lunar fortnights; and the first date of the era was October 7, A.D. 1119.[2] As this date has not been made use of in reconstructing the chronology of the Sena kings, it may be accepted for the present; and time will show whether the conclusion of the learned doctor is right or wrong. But the assertion of the historians that the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa

[1] Vide *Archæological Survey of India, Reports,* vol. xv, pp. 157–9.

[2] Vide *Indian Antiquary,* vol. xix (1890), p. 6; *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. i, p. 306, n. 6.

Sena era synchronizes with the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign is quite untenable and can never be accepted as true. In Indian history there is no era which does not commemorate some epoch-making event which affected the people of the country in general. And ordinary succession to the throne in its normal course, as was the case with Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, does not justify the inauguration of an era in place of the usual regnal years to which the people in those days were accustomed. Moreover, the historians have never explained why this new era, which bears the name of Lakṣmaṇa Deva, took such a firm root not in his own country, but in the country of Mithilā outside his territory.

Ballāla Sena Deva, who is credited with having reformed the practice of Kulinism amongst the higher castes in Bengal, is also reputed to have been the author of two valuable books, the *Dāna-sāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara*. In both these books there are passages which throw some light on the dates of Ballāla Sena. In the extracts which the authorities have made from the MSS of the *Dāna-sāgara* [1] there is a statement (“*Śaśi-nava-daśa-mite sāke varṣe (1091) Dānasāgaro racitaḥ*”) that the *Dāna-sāgara* was completed by the author in Saka 1091 (A D. 1169). If this date is accepted as genuine, then the date which modern historians have put down for Ballāla Sena Deva, viz. A.D. 1108–19, must be wrong. Reject the date of the *Dāna-sāgara* as interpolation, deny its authorship to Ballāla Sena, even then the dates as given in standard histories of India are untenable. There are unmistakable proofs in the other book, *Adbhuta-sāgara*, that Ballāla Sena Deva was not dead, nor had vacated the throne for the succession of his son, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, in A.D. 1119, which has been put down as the initial date of the La-Sam era. For all the information contained in the book no one need depend upon that brief extract made from the one known

[1] Extracts from three MSS are available · Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, i, p 151; Eggeling's *Catalogue of India Office MSS*, p. 545, and M.M. Haraprasād Śāstrī's *Notices*, vol. i, p 170.

and said to be historically important manuscript:[1] we can get it from the printed book published in A.D. 1905. Pandit Muralīdhar Jhā of the Sanskrit College, Benares, in obedience to the wishes of M.M. Sudhākar Dvivedi, collected as many as seven MSS. from different places and edited the book with wonderful patience and ability. But, unfortunately, the publication of the book did not attract the least attention even of those who had been doing research work in the field of history. If any one of them had cared to go through it, even cursorily, when discussing the dates of Ballāla Sena, he would have at once been convinced that the passage, "*Kha-nava-khendv-abda ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram*" (in Saka 1090 the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun), in the extract[1] of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Report could never have been an interpolation. The mere fact that this very passage has been found in all the manuscripts known at present[2] and also in the book published in Benares is sufficient proof of its genuineness; even so it is better to quote from the book a few more passages, every one of which mentions Saka 1090 as the date when the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun.

1. In the chapter on Rāhu's *Adbhuta-sāgara*:—

"*Athādbhutasāgarāmbha-śakābdāt parveśa-gananā*" "Next the method for calculating the Parveśa from the Saka era in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun."

"*Kha-nava-daśo (1090) na-śakābdā* ..."—Saka era 1090...

[1] Vide Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency*, 1897, pp. 83–5.

[2] Besides the MSS. mentioned above there are three more, one (incomplete) in the possession of the writer of this article, and two others which have been secured by the Manuscript Committee of the Dacca University. Their report on the latter manuscript is as follows:—

"JYOTISH.—The most valued additions to this section are two manuscripts of *Adbhuta-sāgara* by Ballāla Sena Deva, one (incomplete) from Nadia District and the other (complete) in Devanagari script from Ahar in Bulandshahr District in the U P. The latter is a particularly valuable MS., dated Saka 1658 and thus about 200 years old. Both of them give the year in which the work was begun. Hailing from widely distant places, they should help to set at rest all controversy regarding the dates of Ballāla Sena Deva and Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva."

2. In the chapter on Bhārgava's *Adbhutāvarta* :—

" *Athādbhutasāgarambha-śakābdāt ṣaṣṭy-abda-yuga-gaṇanam* " " Next the method for calculating the *ṣaṣṭy-abda-yuga* from the Saka era in which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun."

" *Kha-nava-daśo (1090) na-śakābdā*. . ."—Saka era 1090. . .

3. In the chapter on *Ravy-ādi-varṣādbhutāvarta* :—

" *Atha tanmatenaitad-granthārambha-śakābda-varṣādhipa-gananam* " " Now by the same method the calculation of the *varsādhipa* from the Saka era in which this *grantha* was begun."

" *Kha-nava-daśa(1090)-śeṣa-śāke*. . ."—Saka era 1090. . .

4. In the chapter on *Saṃvatsarādy-adbhutāvarta* :—

" *Kha-nava-viyad-indu (1090)-hīnā*. . ."—Saka 1090. . .

It is evident from the above extracts that " *Kha-nava-khendv-abda* (1090) " was taken as the initial date for all the different astronomical calculations, and in every case this initial date is mentioned as the date on which the *Adbhuta-sāgara* was begun. The presence of these passages in the book must at once dispel from every unbiassed mind all doubts about the genuineness of the date, *Sake kha-nava-khendv-abda ārebhe Adbhutasāgaram.*

The evidence in the preceding paragraph proves conclusively that Ballāla Sena Deva was not dead in Saka 1090 (A D. 1168), and consequently the dates which the historians have put down for him (A D. 1108–1119) have to be rejected as incorrect In this book *Adbhuta-sāgara* there is no reference from which can be ascertained the exact date of his death or of his raising his son to the throne. But reasonable inferences can be made about these dates from the following verse, when read with the dates as given in the *Dāna-sāgara* and the *Adbhuta-sāgara* :—

Granthe 'sminn asamāpta eva tanayaṃ sāmrājyarakṣāmahā-dīkṣāparvani dakṣiṇām nijakṛter niṣpattim abhyarthya sah nānādānatilāmbusambalanabhahsūryātmajāsangamam Gangāyāṃ viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ.

The purport of the above verse is: "Before his (Ballāla Sena's) death he asked his son to complete his book (*Adbhuta-sāgara*), which was not finished; and performed various acts of charity on the banks of the Ganges. His request to his son (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) was in lieu of the *dakṣiṇā* for installing him on the throne. His charitable acts were so varied and so numerous that the *tila* necessary for the purpose rendered the surface of the Ganges dark and made it look like its confluence with the Jumna."

It is nothing to be wondered at if Ballāla Sena Deva had found out some auspicious day for performing the necessary initial ceremony for writing his new book on Jyotisha before he completed his *Dāna-sāgara*. His request to his son for the completion of this newly begun book, and not of the other, shows that he lived long enough to finish the latter book himself. It is probable that, when he began his *Adbhuta-sāgara* in Saka 1090, he made up his mind to instal his son on the throne according to the ancient customs of the Hindu kings and pass the rest of his days in literary and religious activities. That he did not live long after the completion of the *Dāna-sāgara* in Saka 1091 is certain; otherwise he could have finished the *Adbhuta-sāgara* too. It will not be far wrong if this very year Saka 1090 be taken as the date of Ballāla Sena's abdication. It is very significant that none of the copper-plate grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva so far discovered gives a date earlier than his third regnal year. Does this not suggest modesty in not issuing any grant in his own name during the first two years of his reign, when his father was alive and living a retired life?

It appears that Ballāla Sena Deva succeeded his father at a very advanced age and had a short reign of about eleven years. Only one copper-plate grant [1] of Ballāla Sena Deva has

[1] Vide *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Patrikā*, pt. xvii, pp. 237–8; and *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xiv, pp. 156–63, as quoted in Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal*, pt. i, p. 322.

Note.—The grant was made by Ballāla Sena on behalf of his mother, Vilāsa-Devī, when she performed the *Mahā-śva-dāna* ceremony on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This may have been an occasion for Ballāla Sena also to make the various grants referred to in the verse quoted above.

been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign Taking 1090 as the fixed date when Ballāla Sena Deva handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in Saka 1080 (A.D 1158). This has the support of the passage "*Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite śāke Ballāla-Sena-rājyādau*, etc ",[1] "in 1082 Saka (A.D. 1160) at the beginning of Ballāla Sena's reign, etc." These dates, viz. Saka 1080–1090, are very nearly the same as those put down by Babu Monmohan Chakravarti in his chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal.[2]

With the dates for Ballāla Sena Deva fixed it is possible to readjust those of his father, Vijaya Sena Deva. He appears to have been the first of his dynasty who raised himself to the rank of an independent king and wrested from his neighbours the territories of Kāmarūpa, Gauda, and Kaliṅga. After the conquest of Kāmarūpa and Kalinga he made captive four other kings, of whom Nānya Deva was one.[3] The defeat of this last king must have been a crushing one. Being dispossessed of his kingdom of Mithilā, Nānya Deva, probably when released, took refuge in the valley of Nepal, where he is said to have founded Simraun in A.D. 1097 and afterwards to have established the Karnatic dynasty there. Now from A.D. 1097, in or about which Vijaya Sena Deva met his adversary, Nānya Deva, to A.D. 1158, the date of his death, he must have had a long reign of at least 61 years. It must have been even longer , and the date, the sixty-second regnal year, given in his copper-plate,[4] lends support to this. If we accept 63 years as the length of his reign, his date of accession comes to 1158–63, i.e. to A.D. 1095. The bold and aggressive policy which was the principal feature of the

[1] *Adbhuta-sāgara, Dhruvādy-adbhutāvarta*

[2] Vide the appendix to the notes by B Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., M R A S , on the *Pavana-dūta* by Dhōyī Kavirāja, one of the court poets of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva

[3] Vide *Epigraphia Indica*, vol i, p 309, *ślokas* 20 and 21.

[4] Ibid , vol. xv, p 278, and the monthly Bengali magazine, *Sāhitya*, pt. xxxi, pp 81–97, as quoted by Mr. R D. Banerji in his *History of Bengal*, i, p. 319, footnote.

commencement of his reign could not have been the guiding principle of one not old enough to chalk out his own line of action. If 26 years be taken as the age when he ascended the throne, then 1095 – 26, i.e. A.D. 1069, should be approximately the date of his birth. Then, assuming the average difference between the age of father and son as 25, the date of Ballāla Sena's birth can be put down at A.D. 1094 and that of his son, Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, at A.D. 1119.[1]

Several archæologists and historians, discussing the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal, have, without convincing argument, made the initial date of the Lakṣmaṇa era to synchronize with the commencement of Lakṣmana Sena's reign. This assumption has landed them in a ridiculous position, which necessitated the appearance of a second Lakṣmaṇa Sena, or at least a Lakṣmaṇeya, to reconcile their dates with the statement of Minhāj-ibn-Sirāj in his *Ṭabakāt-i-nāsirī*.[2] Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, whose reputation as an archæologist was very great, went so far as to identify king Aśoka Chandra Deva with Lakṣmaṇeya by the bold manœuvre of changing the king's name to Aśoka Sena. It is very unfortunate that such a ridiculous hypothesis should be reasserted with greater force, as a "matter no longer in dispute", even in Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* in its fourth and revised edition.[3]

In one of the preceding paragraphs we have asserted on the authority of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* that Lakṣmaṇa Sena was installed on the throne by his father in or about Saka 1090 (A.D. 1168). Professor Muralīdhar Jhā, of the Sanskrit College, Benares, on the authority of Vidyāpati Thakkur's

[1] This is the date which the historians have put down as the commencement of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's reign.

[2] Minhāj was informed that the name of the king whom Muhammad, son of Bakhtiār, surprised in Nadiyā, was Rai Lakhmaniya and that he had been on the throne for then eighty years.

[3] Vide Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 432, para. 2, ed. by S. M. Edwardes.

Puruṣa-parīkṣā, has said "*Sake 1090tame Gaura-deśa-Lakṣmana-puryāṃ Laksmana-Sena-Devah svarājyam alañ-cakāra*" "that in Saka 1090 in Lakṣmana-purī of Gauṛa Deśa Lakṣmana Sena Deva adorned the throne of his kingdom". This fact explodes the theory that the La-Sam era was started by Lakṣmana Sena Deva when he succeeded his father in A D. 1119 It is very natural to infer that Ballāla Sena Deva before his succession to the throne fought several battles against his father's enemies and added new feathers to his cap. His title "*Mithilā-mahī-mahendra*" surely refers to some very important victory which he must have won against a formidable aggressor upon his father's territory. This decisive victory, on which depended the future possession and prosperity of Mithilā, must have been sufficient justification for Vijaya Sena Deva to start a new era in the country of Mithilā. But it needed to bear a distinctive name to distinguish it from other current eras and regnal years. And an appropriate name, too, was not wanting. When Ballāla Sena Deva was fighting the fiercest battle in Mithilā, in which he was given out as killed, a son with all good signs of future greatness was born. This child was named Laksmaṇa Sena Deva, and it was probably thought fit to join his name to this new era to commemorate not only the victory won by his father, but also the birth of this auspicious child. The following tradition, recorded in the *Laghu-Bhārata*, supports this view :—

Pravādah śrūyate cātra pāramparīnavārttayā
Mithile yuddhayātrāyām Ballāle 'bhūn mṛitadhvaniḥ
Tadānīṃ Vikramapure Lakṣmano jātavān asau.

"It has been learnt from tradition that in Vikrama-pura was born Laksmaṇa Sena when it was given out that Ballāla Sena was killed in the battle in Mithila."

Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva was in his younger days a great help to his grandfather and later on to his father in looking after their state affairs. He is said to have fought battles in Kaliṅga and carried his victorious arms as far as Benares and Prayāga.

But he was a man with a religious bent of mind and of literary habits. Even in the lifetime of his grandfather he held his own court, in which there were renowned poets, of whom Umāpatidhara was one. This very poet was the composer of the verses for the stone inscription of the Pradyumneśvara temple built by Vijaya Sena Deva. Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva must have been about fifty years of age when he was installed on the throne by his father. It is very likely that in the fourteen years of his reign he got sick of his state and worldly affairs and, after raising one of his sons to the throne, renounced the world and led an ascetic life on the banks of the Ganges near Nadiyā.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS, AS READJUSTED

Name.	*Date of Birth.*	*Date of Accession.*	*Date of Death or Retirement.*
Vijaya Sena Deva .	A.D. 1069	A.D. 1095	A.D. 1158
Ballāla Sena Deva .	A.D. 1094	A.D. 1158	A.D. 1168
Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.	A.D. 1119	A.D. 1168	A.D. 1182



Iranica

By H. W. BAILEY

1. Pahlavi . Avestan *afīθyō*

1. An important difference between the North-Western and South-Western Middle Iranian dialects consists in the correspondence of North-Western *-h-* to South-Western *-d-* (that is -δ-), beside *-y-*.

In two words of the M.P. inscriptions, in the Pārsīk dialect, is found a *-d-* which is unjustified by the etymology—

nyd'k	Old Pers.	*apanyāka-* " ancestor "
		[*nyā*]*ka-* " grandfather "
	Y. Aw.	*nyāka-*
	N. Pers.	*niyā*, pl. *niyāgān*
xvt'dyhy	M. Sogd.	*γwt'w* " lord "
	N. Pers.	*xudāy*
	Phl.	*xvt'y*
	Pahlavīk (of the inscription) *xvt'vypy*	

Herzfeld (Paikuli s.v. *xvatádíhe*) suggested that the *-d-* was due to " learned " spelling, in place of the *-y-* expected.

A like *-d-* is found in the Pahlavi Psalter :—

gvk'dyhy " witness "	M.P.T. *gvg'yy*, Arm. L.W. վկայ.	
st'd- " praise "	M.P.T. (north-west) *st'v-*	
	(south-west) *st'y-*	
	N. Pers.	*sit'y-*

The North-Western dialect has *-h-* in—

dḥynd " they give "	South-West	*dyy-'nd*
	N. Pers.	*dih-and*
'bxš'h-yd " forgive "	South-West	*'bxš'yd-vš*
	Phl. Psalter	*'pxš'dšny*

Note.—In the transcription of Avestan I follow the system of the *Grund. d. Iran. Phil.* and Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (*AIW.*) except that ʰ is employed for Avestan in agreement with the results of Junker's researches on the Avestan alphabet (*Caucasica*, 1925), thus *fyaʰhum*, Bartholomae *fyarəhum*, and *āʰ* for Avestan Bartholomae å̊. In the rendering of the Semitic " masks " of the Pahlavi I follow Bartholomae, adopting his dash ' before the Iranian word as *'bavēt*.

But Balūčī and Afghānī do not insert a consonant—

Bal. *dēag* " to give "

Afgh. *lal* 3rd Sing. Pres. *lī* " he gives "

Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, Monde Oriental xv, sec. 6, 25, connected this *ḥ-d* with the development of original Iranian *-d-* where the North-Western dialect had *-d-* over against the South-Western *-y-* ; cf. N.W. *'vvd* *ōδ* beside S.W. *'vy* (*'ōy*) " there ". The correspondence of *ḥ* to *d* was, therefore, irregular.

The true explanation of the divergent forms North-West *-h-*, South-West *-y-*, Pahlavi Psalter *-d-*, N. Pers *-y-*, Pārsīk of Inscriptions *-d-* is the insertion of a sound *h*, δ, or *y* in hiatus. Junker, *Caucasica*, i, 2, p. 56, had recognized a similar intention in the *h* of Turfan Pahlavi *pryhyn* " beloved ", which he proposed to read *frīyēn* or *frīēn*. Pahlavi of the Books does not, of course, distinguish *d* and *y* in writing, but forms with *d/y* and with *h* are found.

The South-Western *-d-*, N. Pers. *-y-*, it will be seen, is inserted also in cases where the North-Western has preserved original *-v-*, as in S.W. *st'd-* (Phl. Psalt), N. Pers. *s'tāy-*, N.W. *st'v-*. In one case at least N. Pers. preserved the *-v* : ساوذ " he touches " (Qurān Comm., *JRAS* 1894, p. 448).

2. The recognition that *-ḥ-*, *-d-*, *-y-* are inserted to avoid the hiatus between two vowels, supplies an explanation of the Pahlavi word [illegible] and [illegible], and of the hitherto misunderstood [illegible] and [illegible].

Both words occur in the gloss in the Frahang i Oīm (ed. Reichelt, *WZKM*. 14, p. 190).

Avestan: *bvaṯ vispō aʰhuš astvāʰ azarəsō amarša afīθyō apayą* (read *apuyą*) *darəγəm yaṯ yave vispāi.*

Pahlavi gloss: *'bavēt harvisp axᵛ i astōmand azarmān u amark u* [illegible] *u* [illegible] *dary hamāk 'tāk 'ō visp.*

In the Mēnōkē Xrat, 8, 9, is a similar passage—

[illegible]

Zurvān i akanārak u azarmān u amark u adart u —— *u* —— *u apityārak.*

Zurvān (Time) which is unlimited and ageless and deathless and without pain and —— and —— and unassailed.

The words occur in a similar collocation in the Indian Bundahišn, ed. Justi, p. 3, l. 12—

amark u azarmān —— u ——

deathless and ageless, —— and ——

where Justi translated "nicht hungernd und nicht stinkend" and West, *SBE.* v, p. 6, "hungerless and thirstless."

In the Greater Bundahišn (Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch d. Pehlevi*, p. 65, l. 18) is a more correct text—

stāyišn 'daḥ 'tāk 'pat 'ān pātdahišn amark azarmān —— —— bavē

Give praise that thou mayest at that recompense be deathless ageless —— ——

In Hubschmann (*Pers. Stud.*, p. 109), with Justi, recognized the word *apūišn* "not rotting", corresponding to the Avestan *apuyą*, *AIW.* 86, with the allied words Ossetic (West) *ämbuyun* "to rot" = **ham- pūy-* and Sanskrit *pūyati*. But remained unexplained.

The Pāzand of the Mēnōkē Xrat, 8, 9, gives: *ašōišn u apōišn*. In those words the Sanskrit translator saw derivatives of the words for "hunger" and "drink", and accordingly rendered them by *akṣudhāvān atṛṣāvān* "hungerless and thirstless". But while rejecting the second, "thirstless," for the word , Bartholomae, *AIW.* 102, and Reichelt, loc. cit., read the Pahlavi *ašōδišn* and translated "hungerless", against the certain (= *s*) of the Pahlavi.

The right reading of is, however, *asūyišn*, and of *asūḥišn*. The *-y-* and *-h-* are marks of hiatus. The root *-sū-* is found in Ossetic (West) *räsuyun*

"to swell" (*rā-* = Iranian *fra-*), cognate with Sanskrit *śvayati*, *śūna* "swell". The same root can be traced in Avestan *sispimnō*, *sispəmna*, *sispata*, *AIW*. 1617. *Asūḥišn*, *asūyišn* are, therefore, "not swelling up," "not corrupting"

Read therefore: . . . *u asūhišn u apūyišn* . . . "and not swelling and not decaying." . . .

Against the Pāzand *ō* (*ašōišn*, *apōišn*) are the Ossetic *u* (*rāsuyun*, *dmbuyun*) and the *u* in Sanskrit *pūyati* and derivatives, and *u* in Avestan *puyeti*, *apuyant-*. Nyberg (*Hilfsbuch*) reads *asōhisn* and *apōhišn* with *ō*.

3. By establishing this meaning and etymology of *asūyišn*, it is possible to explain also the Phl. which is found in the Indian Bundahišn (ed. Justi, p 10, l. 6):—

āž niyāž dart sūy

Justi translated "Begierde, Noth, Schmerz, Hunger", but he quoted a Gujarātī gloss "pheçâd d.i. فساد Emporhebung". Here, however, فساد will mean "corruption", which fits *sūy* "swelling" from the same root as *asūyišn*. For the form *sūy* compare Sanskrit *pūya-* "pus".

4. The Pahlavi word *asūyišn* "not swelling", "without corruption" can be put to further use. In the passage of the Frahang i Oīm quoted above the word *asūyišn* is a gloss to the Avestan word *afīθyō*, of which the form and etymology have hitherto not been understood. Bartholomae assumed a root *fraēθ-*, *AIW*. 974, to explain the Avestan forms:

friθyeitiča, Vd. 6, 28.
afriθyantəm, Yt. 19, 11.

**afriθyō*, MSS. *afīθyō*, Frah. i Oīm, 3*h*.

Between *fr-* and *f-* the MSS. are not decisive, as is evident also from the variations *fy-* and *fry-* in the word *fyaʰhva-*, *AIW*. 973. Geldner's edition has *fryaʰhvaityāʰ* beside *fyaʰhum*.

But the word *asūyišn* from the root **sū* "to swell" suggests at once the correct explanation. The word should be read, without *r*, *afīθyō* and be connected with a root **fyāy-*, Sanskrit *pyāy-* "swell", a derivative of the root Av. *pay-* "swell". The verb **fiθya-* is then a denominative from an adjective **fiθa* "swollen"; cf. *friθa-* "beloved" from *frāy-*, Sanskrit *prāy-* "to love", and for the denominative *ātarə.friθita-* "beloved by the Fire", and Sanskrit forms of the type *meghitá-*.

The *-fī-* of *afīθyō* is derived from **fyi-*, reduced grade of **fyāy-*, whence *-yi-* was contracted to *ī* possibly first owing to its graphic form—two (Semitic) *yods*

The meaning thus obtained "to corrupt by swelling up" suits the Avestan passages, as for instance in Vd 6, 28, *yezića aēte nasāvō *friθyeitića puyetića* "and when these corpses swell and putrefy", and in the description of the reformed world in the *Frašōkərəti*.

Yt. 19, 11 (Geldner's edition):—

yaṯ kərənavąn frašəm ahūm
azarəšəntəm amarəšəntəm
afriθyantəm apuyantəm.

that they may make the world wonderful, ageless, undying, not corrupting (not swelling), not decaying.

It was, indeed, possible from the context to guess the meaning of **afriθyantəm*. Hence Bartholomae gave "verfaulen, verwesen" and Darmesteter "decaying" as the meaning of the root.

2. Pahlavi [Pahlavi script] and [Pahlavi script]

1. Pahlavi [Pahlavi script] *apaxšāyišn* or [Pahlavi script] *apuxšāyišn* "forgiveness" corresponds to the forms in the Pahlavi Psalter (quoted by Lentz, *ZII.* iv, 27):—

'pxš'd'y
'pxš'dšny
'pxš'dyhy

in which the *-d-*, i.e. *-δ-*, was discussed above, and to Turfan

Pahlavi (South-West) *'bxš'yd-vš* (North-West) *'bxš'ḥyd* with the dialectic difference of *-d-* and *-ḥ-*, and to N. Pers. *baxšūdan*.

The etymology seems to have been overlooked. It is clearly to be connected with G.Av. *xšąnmǝnē* (*Y.* 29, 9) "to put up with", which probably represents *xšą̄-man-ē*, a dative of a *-man-* suffix employed as an infinitive, from the root **xšam-*, Sanskrit *kṣámate* (*-ąn-* is a device to indicate a nasalized vowel, *ą̄*, and cannot be used, as Brugmann, i, 2, 350, does, to prove a change of *m* to *n* before *m*.) Pahlavi *apaxšāy-* is, therefore, **upa-xšā*. The uncompounded verb seems to occur in the Pahlavi gloss to *xšąnmǝnē* (*Y.* 29, 9; Spiegel's text), [Pahlavi script] *xšāyīt* Bartholomae, *AIW.* 554, altered to [Pahlavi script] *ašāt* "not glad" in agreement with the Sanskrit translation.

For the form of the root *xšāy-*, compare *zātan*, N. Pers. *zādan* "be born" (to the Avestan root *zan-*), Pres. *zāyēt*, N. Pers. *zāyad*. Owing to the Iranian loss of the *ǝ* in the second syllable of (Indo-European) disyllabic roots, *-ami-* *-am-*, *-ani-* *-an-* were subject to the same treatment. Compare also Phl. *vātak* "vomited" with Phl. *vāmēt* "he vomits".

2. A similar treatment of Iranian *-am-* provides a more satisfactory explanation of Phl. *āsāyēt* ([Pahlavi script] Mēnōkē Xrat, ed. Andreas, p. 14, l. 15, "he rests") and N. Pers. *āsāyad*. Hübschmann (*Pers. Stud.* 7) and after him Horn (*Grund. d. Iran Phil.*, 1*b*, 43) connected the word with the Sanskrit causative *śāyáyati* "make to lie down". It is better to refer it to Sanskrit *śámyati* "be quiet". Then *-sāy-* is related to **sam-* as *-xšāy-* to **xšam-*. The causative meaning of Sanskrit *śāyayati* seems to exclude that etymology. Phl. and N. Pers *āsān* "easy" is from the same root **sam-*.

Note.—Andreas' connection of Pahlavi Psalter *'pxš'd-* "forgive" with the Arm. loan-word ապաշխարել "repent" (apud Lentz, *ZII.* iv) is mistaken both as to the meaning and the root.

3. Pahlavi [Pahlavi script]. Greek στατήρ.

It has been customary to vocalize Phl. [Pahlavi script] *styr* as *stīr* (Bartholomae, West) without taking into consideration the Armenian loan-word *սատեր* *sater* (Hubsch., *Arm. Gr.* 377), and Georgian სატირი *satiri*. The Sogdian has *st'yr* (Gauthiot, *Gram. Sogd.*, p. 159), which permits of the same vocalization. That the Pahlavi should also be read *satēr* is confirmed both by the forms *sadera*, *satera* of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Central Asia as pointed out by Professor F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 671; *JRAS.* 1926, p. 507, and by the Arabic loan-word إِسْتَارٌ (Kazimirski) "poids contenant six درهم et deux دانك". The Arabs used *alif* to represent Persian *-ē-* (cf. Nöldeke, *ZII.* ii, 317, who refers to the writings داوداذ beside ديوداذ and داودست: "Pers. *ē* . . . nicht selten durch ا"). استار therefore proves a N. Pers. *istēr*. N. Pers. أستير (Vullers) is accordingly *astēr*, later *astīr*.

4. Armenian կամայ ակամայ աշկարայ

The form of these three Iranian loan-words, կամայ *kamai* "willingly"; ակամայ *akamai* "unwillingly"; աշկարայ *aškarai* "openly", has not hitherto been explained. Hübschmann (*Arm. Gr.*, pp. 102, 164) supposed that the form came from the Pāzand. Salemann, *Grund. Iran. Phil.*, i, 281, could only suggest "vll. *-īhā* ?".

Another explanation can now be attempted. Tedesco (*ZII.* 4, 163) called attention to the Armenian words Տրէ *Trē* "name of the fourth month" and մարգարէ *margarē* "prophet", in which he recognized an Iranian Nom. ending *-ē* parallel to the Nom. *-ẏ* (= *ē*) of the Christian Sogdian texts. To this Chr. Sogd. *-y* corresponds a Buddh. Sogd. *-'k* or *'y*.

The Chr. Sogd. *-y* from *-*akī* represents not only the Nom. but also Gen. Acc. and Abl., and with this it is possible to

connect the Armenian ending *-ai*. For the form *-ai* beside *-ē* compare the alternative forms բազէ and բազայ *bazē*, *bazai*, ἱέραξ (Hubsch., *Arm. Gr.* 114).

Armenian *kamai*, *akamai*, *aškarai* are accordingly oblique cases of *-aka-* stems from a dialect (Armeno-Iranian) closely connected with Sogdian.

Whether the *-ai* of the declension of Armenian proper names, as in Trdatai, gen. sing. of Trdat, can also be brought into this connection, remains uncertain.

5. Armenian երկ

In the discussions of the Pahlavi word ارك *'rk* "work, toil" the Armenian word երկ *erk* "work" has been overlooked The word *erk* occurs in the instr. pl. երկովք *erkovk'* in the fifth century version of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, § 121. Bartholomae (*Zur Kenntnis der mitteliran. Mundarten*, i, 10, 1916) showed that the Iranian form was **arka-*, not as had been supposed a metathesis of Middle Iranian *kār*, in itself most improbable, though Rosenberg still held it in *Bull. Acad. Sc. Pet*, 1918. It is a word common to Western and Eastern Iranian dialects.

Minjānī *arkírim* "ouvrage".

Yidgha *'orkun* "ouvrage" (Gauthiot, *MSL.* 19, 144).

Yaghnobi *ærk* (Junker, *Sitzb. Heid. Akad.*, 1914, *Zweite Erz.* 10).

The form of the Armenian երկ *erk* has the vocalization of the older loan-words :

դերձակ *derjak* "shoemaker".

հանդերձ *handerj* "clothes".

աշակերտ *ašakert* "disciple" (Hubsch., *Arm. Gr.*).

Դեր *Der* "Ctesiphon" (cf Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, s.v. *bb'*).

-կերտ *-kert* at the end of place-names.

This *-er-* before a consonant is found in the first century B.C. in Τιγρανόκερτα and is attested for Middle Iranian (Turfan Pahlavi) by the spelling *-yr-*, as in *kyrd* "made", *kyrdn* "to make"; cf. Bartholomae, *zAIW*. 38.

6. Armenian *-i*

It is now possible to explain the unusual form of the Armenian loan-word *պատասխանի* (cf. Bartholomae, *zAIW.* 183), and the *-i* of the words *արժանի aržani* "worthy" and *Ասորի Asori* "Syrian" by comparison with the Sogdian. The word *կարի kari* "very" has been explained by Meillet as the Buddh. Sogd. *k'δy* "very".

The final *-i* of the Armenian words corresponds to the Christian Sogd. Nom.-Acc. ending *-y* (= -ī) To *պատասխանի patasxani* "answer" corresponds Chr. Sogd. *p'čγny* Acc. Sing. (*ZII.* 4, 119) "answer". With *արժանի aržani* "worthy" (suffix *-ān-*) is to be compared *Ramaqânî* (in F. W. K. Muller's transcription) in *nîst čᵃxûd 'aṭ nî Ramaqânî* rendering the Greek *οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην* of Gal. iii, 28 Here *-î* is Nom. Sing.

Similarly for the *-i* of *Ասորի Asori* the Chr. Sogd. Nom Acc. Sing. *-y* supplies an explanation. The vocalization with *-o-* proves that the word did not reach Armenia through the Greek *Ἀσσύριοι*.

The Armenian *երանի erani,* as in *երանի սգաւորաց erani sgavorac̣* "*μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες*", Mt. 5, 4, appears to have the same *-i* but remains obscure.

ւ

հանդ

աշակեր.

Դեր *Der*

-կերտ *-ker.*

This *-er-* before a

in *Τιγρανόκερτα*

Pahlavi) by the

" to make " ; cf. I

The Semitic Goddess of Fate, Fortuna-Tyche

By S. LANGDON

ASSYRIOLOGISTS have neglected the fundamental meaning of the common Semitic verb מני, מנו,[1] to test, assign, allot. From this verb the name of the Arabic goddess of fate is derived. Curiously enough the earliest known Arabic name of *Manât* is written מנאת in the Thamudic (Minæan) n. pr. *Ta'bad- Manât*.[2] In Nabatæan the ordinary form is מנות, which Wellhausen *Reste des Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 24, takes as a plural, defending this etymology by the Arabic derivative *maniyyat*, fate, death, and broken plural *manāya*, in same sense. Goldziher, *Archæologische epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Œsterreich* vi (1882), 109, also takes the Nabatæan name as a plural, defending it from the Latin inscription from Aquileia, which has *Manawat*. Lidsbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 313. reads *Manāwatu*. G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 79, 5 *et p.* reads *Manūthu*, as singular; the writing in the Coran[3] is *Manātun*. Arabic derivatives of this verb are *maniyyatun*, fate, *māni(n)*, one who determines, assigns, *manā(n)*, death, fate, number, size. Hebrew derivatives are,

[1] Arabic has both forms of this root, with corresponding imperfects *yamnu, yamni*. Hebrew had probably *m-n-y* in the early period, but the root is treated as a ל״ה *passim*. The name of the goddess *Meni*, the place names *Meni* and *Menîth* seem to prove this. The original Arabic is clearly *m-n-y*. Note the Nabatæan noun מנין "counting", G A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 250. The Aramaic and Syriac verb is ordinarily מנא, where the secondary meaning "to count" has entirely superseded the original "to allot". The Assyrian verb *manû* has *m-n-u*, as the preterite *imnu*, imp *munu* (v Raw, 50, B 64) prove

[2] Littmann, *MVAG.*, 1904, i, p. 34.

[3] Sura, 53, 20, مناة. I think that the reading is *Manawatu* in Nabatæan, and is plural. Cf. Arabic *manawiyyun*, that which has reference to *Manât*. There is authority for the reading منوة in the Coran, i e. *Manātun*. *Manūtu* for the Nabatæan seems to me undefendable. Professor D. S. Margoliouth gives me another reading مناءة, i.e. *Manâtun*. See Wright, *Arabic Grammar*,[3] i, 12 A, Rem. d.

mānā, portion, *menāth*, pl. *mĕnayōth*, portion, share. Aramaic *mĕnāthā*, portion, part. Syriac *mĕnātha*, part, portion; *menyānā*, number, and *qal* participle *māne kaukebe*, one who determines by stars, astrologer.

The Arabian goddess of fate was only an aspect of the great mother goddess *Allat* (*al-alat*), mother of Dusares, the Nabatæan Dionysus. That is proved by the habitual representation of Allat as Tychē, identified on coins of the Roman period throughout the Nabatæan kingdom by her mural crown.[1] Undoubtedly the mythological conception of Fortuna as a protectress of cities is Semitic, and the various representations of her in sculpture, painting, and on coins which have been preserved from the Greek and Roman period are based upon Semitic mythology, although the execution is Greek. Dusares the principal male deity of the Nabatæans is identified by Hesychius with Dionysus,[2] not because he was a god of wine, but because both are originally types of the great Oriental myth of Tammuz and Ishtar, i.e. of the young god who dies yearly and of his virgin mother the earth goddess Dusares is described as the son of Chaabu by Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, who wrote in the fourth century. A Palestinian by birth and education, belonging to a religious order of his native land, Epiphanius' statements concerning Nabatæan religion must be authoritative. He identifies Chaabu [3] with the Greek earth goddess Corē,

[1] This type of the Oriental Tychē, Fortuna, is the creation of the Greek sculptor Eutychides, who produced the beautiful Tychē of Antioch in the third century B C. See Percy Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol IX, F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*, p 98. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia*, pp. xxiii, xxix.

[2] On Dionysus and *basillina* (who represents Corē, Persephonē), see Jules Girard in Daremburg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, article "Dionysia", p. 233.

[3] *Chaabu*, *Χααβοῦ*, is the Arabic *ka'bu*, square stone, symbol of Dusares and Allat. Kazwini Athar el-Bilad says that a four-sided stone was worshipped as Allat, and he calls her "mother of the gods". See Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, i, 189. For the Greek text of Epiphanius, see Mordtmann, *ZDMG.*, 29, 99–101.

and describes her as a virgin. The birth of Dusares was celebrated on 25th December, with games, *actia dusaria*, similar to some aspects of the carnival of Marduk at the *akītu* or spring festival at Babylon. But Herodotus, iii, 8, says that the Arabian *'Orotalt* is Dionysus. This name is probably a corruption of *walad-allat*, "child of Allat," as may be inferred from Epiphanius' account of these deities.[1] If, therefore, Dusares is portrayed as Bacchus-Dionysus by the statue found in the Hauran,[2] and on coins with cornucopia and patera, it is Greek mythology, and does not represent the original conception of this Arabian deity.

The Babylonian verb *manû* has also the same original meaning as the Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebrew cognate. Its ordinary connotation is to count, number, as in Aramaic, but the meaning "to allot, determine" survives here also. So when the protagonist of the Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer says *itti balṭuti ammani*, he means, "I have been allotted with the living," received a favourable decree from the gods to be among the living.[3] A nefast omen ends *itti amēlē la immannu*, "he shall not be counted among men," i.e. not be fated to remain among men.[4] As the Arabic verb means "to test, requite, punish", a sense derived from "to assign, allot, determine, apportion to", so do the II [1] and II [2] in Assyrian. In the Epic of Gilgamish, vi, 85–6, *undennâ pišāti-ia, pišāti-ia u irrêti-ia*, the verb certainly means "to bring home to", "requite", whether P. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes religieux*, 250, be right or wrong in rendering the nouns by "shames and maledictions". So also in vi, 90, *umannâ*, etc. See also A. T. Clay, *Old Babylonian Gilgamish Epic*, ll. 142–3 :—

[1] Cf. *Alulu* = *Alorus*, a case of dissimilation of two *l*'s as here.

[2] *Syria*, v, pl. xx, 2; Rostovtzev, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pl. xxxvii, 1; see also *Dusares* in Daremberg et Saglio, and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopaedie*, by Lenormant and Cumont.

[3] S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, p 64, 8.

[4] A. Boissier, *Choix de Textes divinatoires*, ii, 31, 10.

awelûtumma manû ûmū-ša
mimma ša itenipušu šâru-ma.
"The days of mankind are allotted,
Whatsoever they do is wind."[1]

The original meaning reveals itself more obviously in the derivatives; *minûtu*, number, size, proportions, but also, "what is fated, decreed by the gods," what is desired, wished for, corresponding to the Arabic *munuwwatun*, *munyatun*, *minyatun*, "res optata." So in *Ungnad*, *Altbabylonische Briefe aus dem Museum zu Philadelphia*, 123, 6, *šumma mi-na-a-tu-ka la ta-ba*, "If thy circumstances are not good" Cf. Aramaic *mĕnātha*, in the phrases *bimĕnāth kēn*, *'al mĕnāth kēn*, "in the event that," or in the Philadelphia text perhaps simply "portions", "what has befallen you." The common astronomical expression, *Sin ina la mi-na-ti-šu biblum ubil*, means "the moon passed into eclipse out of its fixed time"[2] For *minātí*, "fixed period," parallel to Arabic *munwatun*, period, time,[3] see *minât arḫi ûm 30-kam ušallam* (the moon) "completes the fixed period of a month in thirty days"[4]

[1] Ebeling, in Gressman's *Altorientalische Texte*, 190, has the transcription right, and uses *gezählt* "numbered", for "allotted".

[2] R C Thompson, *Reports*, 85, 2, parallel to *ina simāni innammir*, 119, 1

[3] In Arabic apparently in special sense, *quo incertum est num conceperit camela nec ne*

[4] Thompson, ibid, 11, 3; 5, 3, Chas Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chaldéenne, Adad*, 33, 26–7. In King, *Magic*, 19, 23, *mi-ni-ta BAL-ma* has a variant [.] *šu* (?)-*nu-ta*. Myhrman, PBS i, 17, 22, and variant Ebeling, KAR 68, Obv 23, omits the word, and also the lines preceding, 20–21, in my edition, PSBA. 1912, 154 Hence *minîta BAL-ma* followed upon *šimti balaṭi-ia šîm* "fix thou the fate of my life". *minîtu*, then, is apparently a word for "desire" or "fate", "fortune," here KAR 68, 23 has [*BAL*-]*ma ḫegalla karabâ* for *minîta Bal-ma ḫegalla šurka*, hence *minîtu* syn. *ḫegallu*, wealth, abundance, "desire", fortune" (good) fate, seems to be the meaning here. For *BAL*, I read *tabāku*, pour out, but a verb *bâlu*, "to decree, fix," appears to be certain in Accadian. So in K. 9955, Obv. ii, 1 = AKF i 21, Anu Enlil Ea *u-ba-'-lu-ši*, "fated" her, fixed her fate; cf. RA. 11, 149, 37–9, 12, 83, 54. *ilu ul-si u ri-ša-a-ti lu-bil ûmi-ia* "May God decree me joy and gladness (all) my days", King, *Magic*, 6, 121 = 10, 20 = Myhrman, PBS. 12, 31. Hence read *minîta bal-ma* "decree (me)

manîtu, *mannîtu*, fate, decree of the gods, oracle, is well established by the following passages: *izîkamma šûtu ma-nit* ^{d}*E-a šâru ša ana epiš šarrûte zâk-šu ṭâbu uk-ki-an-nim-ma idat dumki ina šamame u ḳakḳari*, "The South Wind, the 'fate' of Ea, whose blowing is propitious for reigning, blew and omens of good fortune in heaven and earth awaited me."[1] *ina ki-bit* ^{ilu}*Marduk šar ilāni izîḳamma iltanu ma-nit bêl ilâni tâbu*, "By the command of Marduk, king of the gods, the North Wind blew, the 'fate' of the lord of the gods, the propitious (wind)."[2] *iltanu tên-ga manit nišê tâbu*,[3] "The North Wind is thy counsel, the 'fate' of peoples, propitious (wind)." Since the winds were observed for omens, *šâru*, "wind," came to mean "omen", "fate", and is explained by *ma-ni-tu*, VAT. 10613, cited by Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexicographie*, MAG. i, 2, 38.

minîtu, portion, what is desired, fate (as determined by p. 24, n. 4), corresponds to Arabic *minyatun*, res optata. This word has also the usual meaning "mass", and is used in Thompson, *Reports*, 268, 8, in *mi-ni-tu atāli*, for "extent" of an eclipse, see Kugler, *Sternkunde*, ii, 61. It occurs in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, No 467,

desire", *bal-ma ḫegalla karabâ* "decree me abundance as my favour". *ûmu ub-til-la-an-ni ši-ma-ti*, "When fate curses me," i e. when I die, Jensen, KB. vi, 64, 20, var. KAR. 169, Rev. iii 10 = Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 1, p. 30, 20, *ûmu šîmāti ub-til-la-an-ni*; also *Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 1, p. 30, 20, *ûmu šîmāti ub-til-la an-ni*; *Berliner Beiträge* i, 1, p. 6. The root seems to be Arabic *bahal*, Imp *yabhal*, whose original meaning "to permit one to have his desire", also "to curse", it also means to be dumb, and in forms v, viii "to beseech". The meaning "dumb" appears perhaps in PSBA. 1895, 139, 7, *kima maḫḫê ša la idû u-ba-al* "Like one possessed, who knows not I am dumb (?)". Apparently Arabic *bahal* conceals various unconnected roots. In any case, Babylonian *balû*, to beseech, is the ל״ה form of this verb.

[1] Scheil, *Assarhaddon*, 8, 9–10

[2] Winckler, *Forschungen*, ii, 32, 5, corrected by Scheil, ibid, p. 32.

[3] Zimmern, ZA 10, 6, 67 So read and restore after the passages above. Ebeling's transcription and translation, *Berliner Beiträge*, i, 1, pp. 8–9, are false. Since the North Wind belongs to Marduk (cf. *Epic Creat.*, ed. Langdon, p. 192, 21), the god addressed in the acrostic ZA 10, 1–16, is Marduk. Meissner, MAG. i, 2, 38–9, misunderstood all the passages cited above.

Rev. 10, in the sense of "jurisdiction", a connotation derived from "to allot", "portion," "appointment." So in late Hebrew, *pi'el* of מנה, to appoint, elect, also *hithpa'el*. *ina eli mi-ni-ti ša* [amel] *ša pan māti laddin-šina*, "I will give them into the jurisdiction of the chief official of the land."

The noun *minû*, *menu*, "fate," occurs in the titles of the Babylonian mother goddess Ishtar, [ilat] *Me-nu-ul-lim*, [ilat] *Me-nu-an-nim*, "Goddess of the fate of refusal," "Goddess of the fate of consent," i e she who decrees yes or no to the petitions of mankind [1] Professor H Zimmern in his able article on Ishtar as *šimtu* "fate", which he connected with the Syrian *Simi*, *Simia*, *Semia*, and the *Sēmēon* of Lucian,[2] proved that this mythology concerning the Babylonian mother goddess and Fortuna, Tychē, Fate, is common to the Semitic religions of all Western Asia. The Babylonian title *Menû* occurs as Mĕnî in Canaanitish religion and is mentioned with Gad (a male deity) in the post-Exilic passage, Isaiah, lxv, 11. Obviously the worship of the mother goddess of Canaan, Ashtoreth, as a goddess of fate, is borrowed from Babylonian, or ultimately connected with North Semitic religion, for the form *Mĕnî* is North Semitic and not Arabic. In Babylonia the mother goddess is strictly *fatum*, Moira, Parca, and not good fate, alone, i e Tychē, as she appears in Nabatæan and Syrian religions, and in art characterized by the mural crown, protectress of cities. This Tychē of the mural crown, supposed to be the creation of Eutychides at Antioch, is also of Assyrian origin. She appears on a bas relief of a plaque of blue frit from Nimroud.[3] The type which appears in sculpture, on coins and mural paintings throughout Western Asia, is obviously the product of Greek art based upon Babylonian traditions. Here only

[1] CT 24, 41, 81–2 Ishtar is addressed as [ilat]*Mi-nu-ú-an-ni*, [ilat]*Mi-nu-ú-ul-la*, in K. 9955, Obv ii, 6–7. See Langdon in E. Weidner's *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, i, 21

[2] *Islamica*, ii, 577, 582

[3] Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 233.

the mural crown of Babylonian and Assyrian tradition remains. The execution and mythological treatment are entirely Greek. She has no cornucopia, nor does she sit on a rock from which the genius of the river or fountain of her city springs, as at Antioch, Doura, and Palmyra. The Assyrian plaque in blue frit may be as early as the sixteenth century, and certainly not later than the end of the seventh. The high mural crown on this monument does not have the two bull horns, typical of the crowns of deities in Sumero-Babylonian mythology.[1] It represents a minor and special abstract type of the mother goddess, and is identified with Ishtar by the quiver with arrows, slung from her left shoulder. The plaque is broken away at the right shoulder, but another quiver is surely to be restored there.[2] The Tychē type of the Assyrian Ishtar seems to be connected with the Ishtar of battle,[3] connected ultimately with the astral Ishtar and the queen of heaven, Anunit. Ishtar as goddess of fate, *Minû*, is precisely described in the hymn cited above as "mistress of habitations, lover of peoples".[4]

Whether this mythology belongs to the older Sumerian religion must remain doubtful until the Sumerian words for *manû*, *minûtu* can be definitely proved in passages which describe the Sumerian Innini. The common Sumerian word is *šitim*, *šiti*, *šit*, *šid*, *šita*. In Gudea, Cyl. A 19, 21, *šag-šid zu-am*, probably describes the goddess Nidaba, a mother goddess by, "knowing the secrets of fate."[5] The goddess Ninegal is called *šid-dū sag-gig* (*pāḳidat ṣalmat ḳaḳḳadi*), "controller of the black-headed peoples," *JRAS.*, 1926, 681, 4. Or perhaps, *māniat ṣalmat kaḳḳadi*, she who decides

[1] See *Babyloniaca*, ii, p. 144, pl. v, No. 11. Here the decoration of the top is a survival of the branches of the date palm. Cf. L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Accad*, p. 51.

[2] See Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pl. i, No. 1.

[3] Ibid., 79, n. 1, 100, 105, 108.

[4] *bêlit dadmē ra-i-mat niši*, AKF. i, 21, 5

[5] Cf. Nidaba *me-gal-nimnû šu-dú-a*, who holds the fifty great decrees RA. 7, 108, ii 2. and *me* = *mēnû*, below.

the fates of the dark-headed people. Compare the title of *bêlit ilāni*, the Sumerian *d.Mag'*, *nunus-egi-me-a* in II Raw 59 A 39 + L. W. King, *Catalogue*, Suppl. 51, 10, explained by *me-nat Emaḫ*, "she who decrees fate in Emah," and the same title of *bêlit ilāni* = Ninhursag, in RA 11, 177, 10, *nunus egi-me é-mag'-a* Here *mēnât* is the I_1 particle for *mānât*, and corresponds to Sumerian *me-a*. In Sumerian *me* is a common word for *parsu*, decree, law, also for "oracle", *tertu*.

In AJSL. 36, 159, 37 ŠID (ut-tu) = *minûtum*, in a list of ideograms for the deity TAG + TUG, one of which is *d ŠID*(ut-tu). Since *ŠID* = *maḫāsu ša ṣubatu*, or to weave cloth, l 30, this *uttu* I take to be a formation from *tug*, *tuk*, *tuku*, to weave garments,[1] and *uttuku* = *māḫiṣatu*, the "female weaver". Now *ilat* TAG-TUG is called *marat Anim*, and her symbol is "wool of many colours",[2] and *marat Anim*, "daughter of Anu," is a title of Ishtar[3] Hence *uttu*, is a name of Ishtar as a spinster, and a bas relief has a seated figure of a woman on a stool before a deity, whose figure is broken away. This woman is engaged in spinning, and between her and the deity is a table or altar.[4] Hence Ishtar as spinster may be *Mēnât*, *Menû*, goddess of fate, and for this reason *uttu*, "spinster, weaver" is explained by *menûtu*, "fate." Zimmern could find in Babylonian mythology no reference to *Ishtar-Šimtu*, as she who spins and cuts the thread of life, obviously referred to in the Arabic expression *zauwa-al-maniyyat*, "the shears of fate."[5] It is, however, extremely probable that Ishtar, the spinster, is directly connected with, and the origin of, this mythology of the Greek Moiræ, the spinning fates. I cannot defend this thesis by textual references at present, but *nox nocti indicat scientiam*.

[1] RA. 22, 32

[2] RA. 22, 35, after Weidner's correction of my reading, PBS. x, 339, 8.

[3] RA. 22, 32.

[4] *Dél Perse*, i, pl. xi. See RA 22, 38

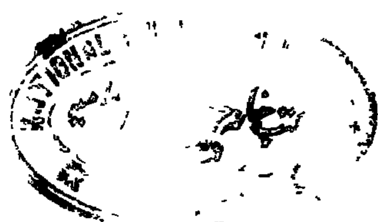
[5] Wellhausen, ZDMG. 76, 698; Fischer, ibid., 77, 120; Dalman, *Petra*, 52.

Addendum.

Re the Arabic verb *bahal*, discussed above, p. 24, n. 4, "to curse," is regarded by Professor Margoliouth as a different word from *bahal*, "to permit one to have his desire, to be dumb." *bahal*, to curse, he connects with Ethiopic *behel* to speak, call, name, command, reply, ask for, contradict, oppose. The Babylonian *bâlu*, in certain passages cited above may be rendered by "command", and the meaning "decree", assigned by me to this word is very near to the South Arabic and original Accadian sense. In any case Syriac *bĕhĕl*, be quiet, Arabic *bahal*, be dumb, is another root, and Assyrian has (1) *bâlu, balû*, command, beseech, order, decree; (2) be dumb. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Lexicon*, 482, identifies *behel* with Ethiopic *mahala*, adjure

The bas-relief of Ishtar discussed on pp. 26–7 does not have a type of mural crown which closely resembles the mural crown of Tychē on coins of the west Asiatic cities. Objections may be raised that this head-dress on the monument of the war-goddess in the British Museum is not a mural crown. That the mural crown of Tychē is of Assyrian origin is placed beyond all doubt by the head-dress of Aššuršarrat, queen of Assyria, and wife of Ašurbanipal, Andræ, *Stelenreihen in Assur*, p. 7 For examples of this mural crown at Aradus, see Ernest Babelon, *Les Perses Achémedides*, pl. xxiii, Nos 4, 5, 6, 7, *et passim*.

Zimmern (by private communication) corrects King, Magic, 19, 13, to *lum-ni ta-bal* and Myhrman, 17, 22 to [*lu*]*m-nu*, etc. For KAR. 68, 23 he restores [*šur-ka-*]*ma*. The photograph of Myhrman, 17, pl. xlvii excludes *lum* absolutely, and King's copy has *MI* clearly.



Discussion of the Buddhist Doctrines of Momentariness and Subjective Idealism in the Nyaya-sutras

By JWALA PRASAD

THERE is a difference of opinion among scholars as regards the exact significance of such *Nyāya-sūtras* as are supposed to refer to the doctrines of the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools of Buddhism. It has also been suggested that probably some of these *sūtras* have been interpolated later on, possibly by Vātsyāyana—the author of the *Nyāya-bhāsya*. After making a careful study of the *sūtras* in question, however, I have come to the conclusion that some of them, in any case, do not refer to the Buddhist doctrines at all, and form a natural and quite an integral part of the particular sections in which they occur, and that the theory which regards them as later interpolations is not justifiable.

First I propose to consider one such section of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, viz. iii, 2, 10, to iii, 2, 18, which, according to all the commentators beginning with Vātsyāyana, is supposed to contain a refutation of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness (*kṣaṇika-vāda*). According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa these *sūtras* refer to the doctrine of momentariness, as found in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, chap. vi; and he also holds that *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10, which forms the main basis for holding this view, has probably been interpolated by Vātsyāyana.[1]

Now improbable as it might appear that none of the many distinguished commentators should have been able to see the points which I am going to raise against this time-honoured view, I cannot help thinking that this particular section does not refer to the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness at all, and that the commentators have simply been carried away by the notions suggested by the term "*kṣaṇikatvād*" in *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10. Some of the modern

[1] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 120, 121. *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10, being *Sphaṭike 'py aparāparotpatteḥ kṣaṇikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuḥ*.

scholars have noticed the abruptness and superfluousness of introducing such a topic in the middle of an altogether different discussion, and have, hence, suggested the theory of interpolation. I shall try presently, however, to show that the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 1, to iii, 2, 17, form one whole section dealing with the transitory nature of cognition (*buddhi*), and that the discussion contained in it refers only to the Sāmkhya view, according to which the *buddhi* is a permanent and abiding faculty. That these *sūtras* were once looked upon as forming one section and as referring to the topic of the non-permanence of *buddhi* will appear from the concluding section of the *Nyāya-bhāsya* on *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 17—*iti upapannam anityā buddhir iti* "thus it is proved that *buddhi* is non-eternal". Vardhamāna had noticed this point about the *Bhāṣya*, but he himself regarded these *sūtras* as forming an altogether different section He says. "Some people have held that this is only a part, and continuation, of the foregoing section, and should not be treated as a separate section; specially because the *Bhāṣya*, at the end of the present section, concludes with the words: 'Thus it is proved that *buddhi* is non-eternal,' from which it is clear that the *Bhāṣya* takes the whole as one section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi*. But the fact of the matter is that the subject-matter of the present section is totally different. . ." [1] The *Tātparya* and the *Pariśuddhi* simply explain away this introduction of a discussion of the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness into this section. As has already been pointed out, the chief ground for holding that this section refers to the Buddhist doctrine of *kṣanika-vāda* is to be found in the language of *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 10—*sphatike 'py aparāparotpatteh kṣanikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuh*. Now this *sūtra* should normally be regarded as an answer (*uttara-pakṣa*) to one of the preceding *sūtras*, which represent the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) from the point of view of the Sāmkhya, viz. *sphaṭikānyatvā-bhimānavat tadanyatvābhimānah* "there is a false notion

[1] *Indian Thought*, x, p. 313.

of its being different, like that with regard to the difference pertaining to a rock-crystal"; that is to say, the Sāṃkhya opponent says that *buddhi*, though really one, appears to be diverse, just like a rock-crystal, which also appears to be different because of the reflections of the different colours upon it. It will appear that the *Nyāya-sūcī-nibandha* and the commentators regard this *sūtra* as the end of the section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi* "*iti navabhiḥ sūtrair buddhy-anityatā-prakaranam*"; and, according to them, an altogether new section begins with the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., which, according to all the commentators, contains an objection to the doctrine of permanence of things from the point of view of the Buddhist, who holds the doctrine of momentariness. The *sūtra* has been translated thus: "In the rock-crystal also, one (rock-crystal) being produced after another, since all the individual things are momentary, there is to be found no reason" The following seven *sūtras* are then supposed to contain a discussion of the doctrine of momentariness between the Buddhist and the Nyāya philosopher. Now I cannot help thinking that this view is the most absurd to hold, and it is so for the following reasons .—

1. It is very unusual and unnatural that at the end of a discussion the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* should stop with a *sūtra* representing the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) and not finish with an answer establishing his own view (*uttara-pakṣa*).

2. It would be curious that the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, while trying to establish the non-eternality of *buddhi* as against the Sāṃkhya philosopher, should leave him and the subject under discussion alone, and abruptly usher in a Buddhist, apparently against the Sāṃkhya first, make him say something which is distinctly against the Nyāya view, and then begin to measure swords with him.

3. The *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 10 to iii, 2, 18 are evidently a discussion of the Sāṃkhya view of cause and effect rather than of the

Buddhist doctrine of momentariness. This is clear from the example of the production of curd out of milk, and from the fact that as the *Sūtra* "*na payasaḥ pariṇāmaḥ guṇāntara-prādur-bhāvād*" could not be explained in terms of a discussion between a Nyāya philosopher and the Buddhist, the *Bhāṣya* introduces it with the observation: *atra kaścit parihāram āha* "here someone has offered the following refutation"; and the *Vṛtti* actually says: *saugata-mate sāṃkhyadūṣanam upanyasati* "the author points out a defect in the Buddhist doctrine from the point of view of the Sāmkhya". A study of the *sūtras* in question will easily show that the *sūtra* is not an answer to the Buddhist view, which is, in fact, to be found in none of the *sūtras* in this section, but to the Nyāya view that the effect is different from the cause; for it is said in this *sūtra* that milk, while it becomes curd, is only transformed by the appearance of different qualities. Further, would it not be a curious procedure again that the Nyāya philosopher should introduce a Sāṃkhya, with a view different from his own, to meet his opponent, who, this time, is the Buddhist?

The fact is that a hopeless confusion has been created by the assumption that the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., has reference to the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness,[1] simply because

[1] For considerations of space it is impossible to consider here every *sūtra* in this section, but the main arguments given above should be sufficient to show that the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness is not the theme of these *sūtras*. It is evident that it is the term *kṣaṇikatvād* in the *sūtra* which has suggested the presence of this doctrine here, but it is to be noted that *kṣaṇika* and its derivatives are quite normally used to denote simply "momentary" as apart from the technical sense of the term as found in the Buddhist metaphysics A very happy example of the use of the word, and that, too, in order to express the momentary nature of cognition (*buddhi*), which forms the subject of discussion in the present context also, is to be found in the Śabara-bhāsya under *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, i, 1, 5, where it is said · *arthaviṣayā hi pratyakṣa-buddhiḥ, buddhy-antara-viṣayā; kṣaṇikā hi sā, na buddhy-antara-kālam-avasthāsyate* Another text of the *Śloka-vārttika* under *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, i, 1, 4, and the *Kāśikā* on the same provide another example of the use of this term in the same kind of context. Speaking about *buddhi*, the *Vārttika* says · *na hi sā kṣaṇam-apy-āste jāyate vā pramātmakam* (i, iv, 54), and the *Kāśikā* explains: *kintu nendriyādivaj jātā satī buddhiḥ kṣaṇamātram apy āste*, etc.

it happens to contain the term *kṣaṇikatvād*. I shall presently offer my own explanation of the *sūtra*, and show that the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 1, to iii, 2, 17, form one continuous section dealing with the non-eternality of *buddhi*, as against the Sāṃkhya view that it is eternal.

After the Sāṃkhya explanation of the non-simultaneity of cognitions and the non-recognition of an object, as given in the *Sūtras*, iii, 2, 6, and 7, has been refuted by the Nyāya philosopher by means of the assertion contained in the *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 8, *na gatyabhāvāt*, that the explanation given by the Sāṃkhya cannot be true because, according to them, there is no motion in *buddhi*, the follower of the Sāmkhya says in *Sūtra*, iii, 2, 9 that there is only a semblance of difference (and therefore of diversity) in cognitions like that to be found in the case of a rock-crystal (which, although one, appears to be different according to the reflections on it). After this, I hold that the assertion *hetv-abhāvād*, which has been regarded as a *Nyāya-sūtra* by some, and as only a part of the *Bhāṣya* by others, is really a *Nyāya-sūtra* forming the *uttara-pakṣa* along with the next three *sūtras*, viz. *sphatike 'py*, etc. In the *Sūtra*, *na hetv-abhāvād*, it is said that there is no proof that *buddhi* is like a rock-crystal (it is simply an illustration which you give), and in the next *sūtra* then, *sphatike 'py aparāparotpatteh kṣaṇikatvād vyaktīnām ahetuḥ*, it is further maintained that even the case of a crystal is not in point, since, in it also, because the reflections are produced one after another, the individual reflections are momentary, the main object being to emphasize the fact that the diversity of reflections in a crystal is not a case of semblance, but of real production by the objects reflected into it. The term "*api*" in *sphaṭike 'py* is very significant, and is indicative of the fact that this *sūtra* is a development of an argument begun in a previous *sūtra*, and this we actually find in the *Sūtra*, *na hetv-abhāvād*. The next two *sūtras* also represent the *uttara-pakṣa*: In the *Sūtra*, *niyamahetv-abhāvād yathā-darśanam abhyanujñā* it is

said that as there is no reason to support a universal rule (with regard to the permanence or transitoriness of objects), we can admit (the truth or falsity of this character about things) only in accordance with our experience; since, according to the *Nyāya-sūtras*, neither are all the objects necessarily permanent, nor are they necessarily transitory.[1] But, it is pointed out in the next *Sūtra*, *notpatti-vināśa-kāranopalabdheḥ*, that in this particular case, it is not right to say that *buddhi* is permanent, because the causes of the production and destruction of cognitions can be perceived.[2] This leads to a discussion of the nature of production by means of the example of curd and milk, which discussion also is evidently one between a follower of the Sāmkhya and a Nyāya philosopher.

It is rather strange that Vidyābhūṣaṇa should see in the *Sūtra sphaṭike 'py*, etc., an echo of the doctrine of momentariness as found in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, chap. vi,[3] when, evidently, the doctrine as defined in this work shows a distinct divergence from the view about the production of individuals contained in the *Nyāya-sūtra* in question. According to Vidyābhūṣana's own quotation and its translation,[4] the author of the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* says, "A momentary thing is that which is inactive, distinct in itself, and not liable to cessation. By calling things momentary I mean that they are not produced; I do not, O fools! say that they are destroyed after being produced."[5] This statement clearly shows that the doctrine of momentariness, as explained here, simply means change, and not production and destruction of things every moment; while in the

[1] Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, iv, 1, 28.

[2] Cf. *Ns.*, iii, 2, 24· "Inasmuch as cognition is recognized as non-eternal, its destruction proceeds from another cognition, just like sound."

[3] *History of Indian Logic*, p 121.

[4] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 246.

[5] *Nirvyāpāram ksaṇikam viviktam kṣayavarjitam,*
Anutpattiṃ ca dharmāṇāṃ ksaṇikārthaṃ vadāmy-aham,
Utpattyanantaraṃ bhaṅgaṃ na vai deśemi bāliśāḥ.

Nyāya-sūtra under consideration there is a distinct mention of the production of individuals one after another—*aparāparotpatteh.* It will appear that the doctrine that all things are non-eternal, since they have the character of being produced and destroyed, is considered by the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* in another section beginning with the *Sūtra*, iv, 1, 25, *sarvam anityam utpatti-vināśa-dharmakatvāt*, and that various doctrines relating to eternality, non-eternality and change are dealt with in the Fourth Book of the *Nyāya-sūtras.* Hence the doctrine of momentariness, instead of being introduced in Book III, 2, in the middle of a discussion irrelevant to the subject from the Nyāya point of view, could have been easily introduced in the Fourth Book; and, in fact, the doctrine of non-eternality as found in that Book is not very different from the doctrine of momentariness. Further, it must be remembered that it is the complete destruction and the fresh production of *all* individual things which the author of the *Nyāya-sūtras* objects to. He does admit non-eternality in the case of some kinds of existence, for example, in the case of cognitions themselves.

The other section of the *Nyāya-sūtras* which I propose to consider here is that which consists of *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, and the following *sūtras*. According to some, it refers to the Buddhist doctrine of subjective idealism (*vijñāna-vāda*), while according to others, it contains a discussion of the philosophy of the Mādhyamika School (*Śūnya-vāda*). Vidyābhūṣaṇa holds that *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, and the next are later interpolations, and refer to the doctrine of *vijñāna-vāda* as found in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, chaps. ii and xi.[1] The view that these *sūtras* refer to the *vijñāna-vāda* has been questioned and refuted by Jacobi as against Stcherbatsky, who held this view on the authority of Vācaspati Miśra.[2] *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, which is the most important in this section, is: *buddhyā vivecanāt tu bhāvānāṃ yāthātmyānupalabdhis tantvapakarṣaṇe*

[1] *History of Indian Logic*, p. 120.

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxxi (1911).

paṭasadbhāvānupalabdhivat tadanupalabdhiḥ, and an examination of the language of the *sūtra* will show that it certainly does not refer to the doctrine that things cannot be conceived to exist apart from the ideas of them. I shall also presently show that the *sūtra* does not refer to the doctrine of *Śūnya-vāda* either, as Jacobi holds. A faithful translation of the *sūtra* will indicate what it actually means. It may be rendered thus. "And by means of an analysis by intellect (*buddhyā vivecanāt tu*), the true nature of existent things is not cognized (*bhāvānām yāthātmyānupalabdhiḥ*); they cannot be cognized, just as the existence of cloth is not cognized after the threads have been separated from one another." It will appear that Vidyābhūṣaṇa's translation of the *sūtra*, viz. "Things, some say, do not possess a reality if they are separated from our thoughts, just as there is no reality in a web separated from its threads," [1] is evidently not correct. "*buddhyā vivecanāt*" certainly does not mean here "separated *from* our thoughts", and "*bhāvānām yāthātmyānupalabdhiḥ*" only means "the non-cognition of the true nature of things". The example of threads and cloth clearly shows that what is meant to be asserted in the *sūtra* is that the true nature of the whole cannot be known by analyzing it into parts, which is a distinctly Nyāya view about the nature of the whole. Further, the particle *tu* in "*buddhyā vivecanāt tu*" indicates that the assertion in the *sūtra* is a development of some argument that has gone before; and this is to be found in the preceding *sūtra*, *anavasthākāritvād*, etc. Thus it will appear that the *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26, along with iv, 2, 25, instead of representing the Buddhist view, forms the Nyāya answer (*uttara-pakṣa*) to the opponent's view (*pūrva-pakṣa*) contained in *Nyāya-sūtras*, iv, 2, 23 and 24, in which it is said that an atom is not an indivisible whole but an aggregate of infinite parts. In defence of the doctrine of indivisibility of atoms it is said firstly, in iv, 2, 25, that a denial of the doctrine will lead to a regress *ad infinitum*, and secondly, in case it be said that

[1] *Nyāya-sūtras* (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*), p. 133.

an atom can be understood only as something made of parts, it is asserted in iv, 2, 26, that the nature of the whole cannot be known by analyzing it into its parts.[1] Then the following two *sūtras*, iv, 2, 27, and iv, 2, 28, again form the *pūrva-pakṣa*. In the first of these *vyāhatatvād ahetuḥ*, it is said that what has been asserted about the nature of the whole is no ground, because it is vitiated by contradiction ; the meaning being that it is contradictory to say that the whole cannot be known by the cognition of its parts ; and in the second of these *tadāśrayatvād apṛthag-grahaṇam*, it is further said that the whole is not known apart from its parts, for its existence depends upon them. Then the next *sūtra*, *pramāṇataś cārthapratipatteḥ*, represents the *uttara-pakṣa*, and asserts that an object is proved to exist, or is known by means of a *pramāṇa*, that is to say, an object as a whole is known by means of the various *pramāṇas* ; and this leads to a discussion in the following *sūtras* on the validity and limitations of the *pramāṇas*. It will appear thus that the whole section contains a discussion on the nature of the whole in its relation to the parts, and that *Sūtra*, iv, 2, 26 simply emphasizes the Nyāya view that the true nature of the whole is known independently of its parts, and not by an analysis of its parts, or rather by analyzing it away into its parts.

The explanation of such forced interpretations of the *Nyāya-sūtras* as have been discussed above is to be found in the fact that the commentators were too anxious to make use of anything that they could get hold of in the language of the *sūtras* in order to refute the Buddhist doctrines, which were ever pressing upon them, to pause and consider how far they were justified in doing so.

[1] Compare the arguments contained in *Sūtras*, iv, 2, 7, to iv, 2, 15, especially the opponent's view in iv, 2, 14, where it is said that the perception of things would be possible, just like the perception of a mass of hair by a person of dim vision.



Restoration of a Hymn to Shamash

By Cecil J. Mullo-Weir

THE well-known hymn to Shamash, edited by Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, pp. 9–23 (and more recently by Schollmeyer, *Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, pp. 80 ff. and Jensen, *KB.*, vi², 96 ff.), can be partly restored, as Professor Langdon informs me, from Ebeling, *KAR.* 321 (edited by Ebeling, *Berliner Beiträge*, ii, 1, 8 ff.), where part of the hymn has been inserted into the so-called Girra(or Irra)-Myth. *KAR.* 321, obv. 12–17 = col. iii, 31–42 of Gray, ibid., and the two texts mutually restore each other. Judging from the shape of the tablet (VAT. 10714), one would suspect that a long break exists between the Obverse and the Reverse of *KAR.* 321, and where the text recommences (rev. 1 ff.), we find ourselves in the closing lines of another Shamash hymn.

Below will be found the restored text of col. iii, 31–42. The editions of Schollmeyer, Jensen, and Ebeling are to be amended accordingly. The variant readings are from *KAR.* 321, obv. 12–17, while Gray's texts are K. 3474, rev. iii (unpublished), K. 3182, rev. iii (cf. Gray, pl. ii), and K. 8233, col. iii (cf. Brünnow, *ZA.* iv, p. 35). Conjectural restorations have been printed in roman type.

Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts*, p. 18, col. iii.

31. *mut* [1]*-taḫ-li-lu šar-ra-ku mu-ṣal-lu-ú šá* ^ilu^ *Šam-ši* [2]
    The burglar, the thief, the enemy of Shamash,

32. *ina su-li-e ṣêri mut-tag-gi-šù i-maḫ-ḫar-ka* [3]
    He who assaults on the country-road, they come before thee;

33. *mi-i-tum* [4] *mur-tap-pi-du e-ṭím-mu ḫal-ku*
    The dead, the wanderer, the ghost, the fugitive one (?),

34. ^ilu^ *Šamaš im-ḫu* [5]*-ru-ka* [*tal-te-me ka-la-ma*]
    O Shamash, have come before thee, thou hearest all things;

[1] Var. *muš.* [2] Var. ^ilu^ *Šamši.* [3] Var. *i-maḫ-ḫa-ru.*
[4] Var. *mi-e-tu*; var. K. 3474, ^am^ ^i^ *mîtum.* [5] Var. *-ḫa.*

35. *ul tak-li šu-ut im-ḫu* [1]-*[ru-ka katê (?) ṣab (?)-ta-ti* [2]*]*
Thou hast not held back those who came before thee; thou dost grasp their hands;

36. *a-na ia* [3]*-a-ti ilu Šamaš [la ta-áš (?)-še (?)-ši-na-ti]*
For my sake, O Shamash, thou wilt not forget (?) them;

37. *ana* [3] *i[a* [3]*-a-ti] ilu Šamaš uz-[ni-ši-na* [4] *tuš-pat-ti]*
For my sake, O Shamash, thou wilt open their ears;

38 *maš* [5]*-[ru]-ka iz-zu* [5] *[šam]-ru [ûm-ka at-ta-m]a ta-[nam-din-ši-na]*
Thy fierce glow (?), thy furious light, thou givest them;

39. *áš (?)-šu (?) te-rit* [6]*-ši-na ina ni-[k]i-i* [7] *aš-ba-ta*
On account of their oracles, thou sittest by the sacrifices;

40. *a-na šâri* [8] *ir-ba* [9] *ar-kát-si-na ta-pár* [10]*-ra-as*
In (?) the four quarters (of the earth) thou decidest their future;

41. *kal si-ḫi-ip* [11] *da-ád-me uz-ni-ši-na tuš-pat-ti*
Of the totality of habitations thou openest the ears;

42. *ma-la kap-pa* [12] *ni-ti-íl* [13] *ênê-ka ul im-ṣu-u šá-ma-mu*
The heavens are not so wide as the wings of the vision of thine eyes.

[1] Var. *-ḫa*.

[2] For *sab-ta-ta*? The reading of the text in this line is not quite certain

[3] Correct Brünnow's copy.

[4] Var *uznê-ši-na*.

[5] The text has *PA*, but the variant has *maš*, or should we read *par*? The reading *giš* is tempting, but the copy is against it; *ur*, which would give the easiest reading, is manifestly out of the question. Some word parallel to *ûmu* is required, and we must postulate a new word, *mašru* = "light (?)", or, alternatively, a Sumerian loan-word *parru*, *pāru*, with a similar meaning, unless, indeed, the ideogram *PAR* (= *nûru*) stood in both texts, with *-ru* as phonetic complement, which is improbable.

[6] Var. *-ri-te-*.

[7] Var *nikê*.

[8] Var. *šá-a-ri*.

[9] Written *LÌM-ba*, var. *ir-bit-ti*.

[10] Var. *-pa*.

[11] *siḫpu* = "totality". Cf. *JRAS.*, 1924, Centenary Volume, 35, 15, and ibid., p. 39, n. 15; CT. 37, 6, 24; Gray, *Šamaš*, p. 12, l. 20.

[12] Var. *-pi*.

[13] Var. *ni-iṭ-li*.

Le nom de l'ecriture kharosthi

PAR JEAN PRZYLUSKI

PARMI les génies tutélaires des villes du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, la *Mahāmāyurī* cite le *yakṣa* Kharaposta dont le nom est traduit en chinois par "peau d'âne".[1] *Khara* signifie âne en indo-aryen, mais *posta* manque aux lexiques sanskrits. Gauthiot en étudiant le mot voisin *pustaka* [2] a montré qu'on devait en chercher l'origine dans l'iranien *pōst* (avest. *pašta*, pehl. *pōst*, pers. *pūst*) "peau". Skr. *pusta* ou *pustaka* "manuscrit" dérive d'un mot iranien signifiant "peau" parce que le *pustaka* était d'abord un manuscrit sur peau dont l'usage se répandit de l'Iran dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest.

On lit sur le Pilier au Lion de Mathurā le nom du prince royal "Kharaosta yuvaraja" fils de Mahachatrava Rajula et frère de Chatrava Śuḍasa. Le nom du *yakṣa* Kharaposta et celui du *yuvarāja* Kharaosta[3] sont sans doute superposables : le second signifie "Peau d'âne" comme le premier.

Posta étant un mot d'origine iranienne, les composés Kharaposta, Kharaosta ne pouvaient être intelligibles aux Indiens non cultivés. Il était donc tentant de substituer au second élément de Kharaosta un mot indien compris par tous, et ce mot pouvait être *oṣṭha* "lèvre". En fait, la tradition connaît un ṛṣi nommé Kharoṣṭha "Lèvre d'âne", auquel on rapporte l'invention de l'écriture dite kharoṣṭhī.[4] Kharoṣṭha formé de *khara* + *oṣṭha* pourrait bien être la déformation indienne du composé iranien Kharaosta : à un

[1] Cf. Sylvain Lévi, "Le catalogue géographique des *Yakṣa* dans la *Mahāmāyurī*," *JA.*, 1915, vers 33, et pour l'explication du nom, p. 58 du tiré à part. °*poṣṭā* du vers 33 doit être évidemment corrigé en °*posta*.

[2] *MSL.*, xix, 1915, p. 130.

[3] Sur la chute de *p* intervocalique en prâkrit, cf. Pischel, *Gr. Prk. Sp.* § 186.

[4] Sylvain Lévi, dans *BEFEO*, 1904, 48–9.

ancien saint nommé " Peau d'âne ", on aurait substitué, par étymologie populaire, le saint " Lèvre d'âne ".

Ceci admis, la question si controversée de l'origine du nom de l'écriture kharoṣṭhī se présente sous un jour nouveau. Si le nom du saint auquel on rapporte l'invention de cette écriture remonte à un original Kharaposta, la forme *kharoṣthī* doit avoir la même origine.

Historiquement, cette induction est pleinement satisfaisante. Les documents en écriture kharoṣṭhī, qui nous viennent d'Asie Centrale, sont souvent écrits sur des peaux de chameau, plus rarement sur des peaux de cheval ou d'âne. Les ânes étant particulièrement nombreux dans l'Inde du Nord, leur peau devait être employée, dans cette région, plus souvent que celle des chevaux ou des chameaux. On conçoit sans peine que kharoṣthī ait pu désigner à l'époque ancienne l'écriture sur peau d'âne, sur *kharaposta.*

Dans un mémoire qui souleva d'âpres discussions, M. Sylvain Lévi avait essayé de prouver que kharoṣthī dérivait d'un nom géographique Kharoṣtra, formé lui-même de *khara* + *uṣtra* " âne et chameau ", et qui serait une désignation ancienne de la ville de Kachgar. Deux ans plus tard, sans renoncer à son hypothèse touchant l'origine du mot kharoṣthī M. Sylvain Lévi abandonnait le rapprochement qu'il avait proposé entre Kharoṣtra et Kachgar et montrait que Khotan, aussi bien que Kachgar, peut faire valoir des droits comme équivalent régulier de Kharoṣṭra. Ce dernier mot désignerait en somme la région mal définie " que la géographie actuelle englobe tant bien que mal sous le nom de Turkestan ".[1]

Je n'ai pas à discuter ici la localisation du Pays-des-ânes-et-des-chameaux (Kharoṣṭra-deśa). Il me suffit de faire observer que l'écriture dite kharoṣthī n'a pas été importée du Turkestan dans l'Inde et qu'on ne saurait par conséquent faire dériver son nom d'une expression géographique désignant les régions de Khotan et de Kachgar.

[1] Cf. *BEFEO.*, 1902. "L'écriture kharoṣṭrī et son berceau," ibid., 1904, p. 41.

Ce n'est pas à dire que les sujets parlants n'aient jamais confondu Kharoṣṭhī et Kharoṣṭra. Les jeux de l'étymologie populaire sont variés. Sous une forme du parler vulgaire telle que *kharoṭṭhī*, équivalent normal de *kharoṣṭhī*, on pouvait aussi bien imaginer *kharoṣṭrī* que *kharoṣṭhī* ; le premier terme suggérait *khara-uṣṭra*. Dans l'ignorance où ils étaient de la réalité historique, certains auteurs chinois ont pu préférer *kharoṣṭrī* qui évoquait le Pays-des-ânes-et-des-chameaux.



Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. IV: The Khotan Region

By F. W. THOMAS

(PLATE I.)

COMING at length to Khotan,[1] we observe first that it is frequently mentioned in the documents under its name Ḫu-ten or with minor variations, such as *Ḫu-den* (M.T. *a*, iii, 0063), *Ḫu-then* (M.T. *b*, i, 0098). The country and the inhabitants are designated *Li*, as in the other known sources. The material may be grouped under heads as follows:—
I. The Khotan district and city, including A, The two rivers; B, The Parishes and streets; C, Temples or Monasteries; D, The citadel of Khotan; E, The Khotan King; F, *Amacas*, a *Nan-rje-po* and a *Dmag-pon*. II: Śiṅ-śan. III: Gyu-mo, Ḫo-ton Gyu-mo, and Ho-se Gyu-mo. IV: Places with names ending in *rtse*. V: Other places presumably in the Khotan region. VI: Places or states adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan region. VII: Personal names of Khotanī people. VIII: The Khotan language.

The material found in these, for the most part fragmentary or hardly decipherable records, is naturally discontinuous; but it is abundant and valuable as enabling us to control and extend the information contained in Tibetan, Chinese, and other literary works In order to place the reader in a position to judge whether the proper names have been correctly elicited, more than one reference, where available, is given, a course which may also serve the purpose of shedding light upon the circumstances of the time (the latter part of the eighth century A.D.) and the manners of the

[1] I take this opportunity of mentioning that of the Stein documents treated in these articles those indicated as M.I. (Mīrān) and most of those indicated as M.T. (Mazār Tāgh)—excluding any from the "Third Expedition"—are among those examined by Professor A. H. Francke for Sir A. Stein's "Reports". The slips containing Professor Francke's accounts of the documents (in their then unimproved condition) are preserved in the India Office Library, where they can, no doubt, with consent, be consulted. The information elicited by him is summarized in his well-known article (*JRAS*. 1914, pp. 37–59) and in his "Appendix G", pp. 1460–6 of Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*.

people. Some further materials bearing upon the latter topic may be assembled later

Places mentioned in the Tibetan literary accounts of Khotan or in the Kharoṣṭhī documents have been considered in the two articles published in *Asia Major*, ii (pp. 251–71) and the *Festgabe Jacobi* (pp. 46–73). Unless recurring in the sources now under examination, they will not be referred to in the present connection.

It seems, however, worth while to take note of one case where the Chinese evidence enables us to give with some exactness the geographical position of the place. This is the Poṅge or Singa-Poṅge (or Poṅgeya) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see Index)), which is clearly the fortress P'ong-houai of the Chinese itinerary (*Serindia*, p. 1331), something over 60 miles from Khotan.

I. The Khotan District and City

A: *The two rivers, Upper (= Eastern, Yurungkash) and Lower (= Western, Karakash)*

1. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0048 (wood, c. 22·5 × 2·5 cm.; rather curved, complete, hole for string at right; two columns separated by a line; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso*—the third in each case inverted—of cursive *dbu-can* script).

I

[1] śel . chab . ḥog . maḥi . tshand . la [2] Li . bcu . gñis . gyi . ded . sna . Li . Smad . la [3] gthad | *inverted* tshard . Śi . ro . ña

II

[1] śel . chab . goṅ . maḥi . tshan . la . Li . bdun . gyi [2] ded . sna . Li . Bun . dar . ma . la . gthad | [3] *inverted* tshar . Has . go . ña . na . mchis.

III

[B 1] śel . chab . dbus . gyi . tshan . la . Li . dguḥi . ded [B 2] sna | Bar . ma . ro . ñaḥi . Li . Śir . de | la . gthad | [B 3] Li .

IV

[B 1] mkhar . pa . drugi . ded . sna | Li . Khom(s ?) . śe . dad | [B 2] la . gthad [B 3] *inverted* sraṅ . Ba . žo . ña . na . mchis

V. Gu (Gru ?).jo(dze ?).chad o | Li.Sam.rba (ga ?).chad | 000000 . . .

I. " To the company of (the country) below (sc. west of) the rivers, as chief of twelve Khotanīs, the Khotanī Smad was sent. Parish Śi ro.ña.

II. " To the company of above (sc. east of) the rivers, as chief of seven Khotanīs, the Khotanī Bun-dar-ma was sent. Is in the Parish Has-go-ña.

III. " To the company between the rivers, as chief of nine Khotanīs, the Khotanī Śir-de of Bar-ma-ro-ña was sent.

IV. " As chief of the six city-officers (or men) the Khotanī Khom (Khrom ? Khos ?)-śe-dad was sent. Is in the street Ba-żo-ña

V. " The Khotanī Gu(Gru ?)-jo(dze ?) was punished (executed), 1 : the Khotanī Sam-rba(ga ?) was (*or* thirty (*sum.cu*) Khotanīs were ?) punished (executed)—*figures*."

Here we have the same discrimination of the lands east of the rivers, west of the rivers, and between the rivers, which, as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, has caused trouble to Rockhill (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 236) and Sir Aurel Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, 161–2). Previously (*Asia Major*, ii, p 258) I have suggested alternative translations " east of the river " and " of the eastern river ". In view of the correspondence of the three phrases *śel-chab-ḫog-ma*, *śel-chab-gon-ma*, and *śel-chab-dbus*, the former rendering, but with the plural " rivers ", seems preferable. The interpretation of " above " and " below " as equivalent to " east " and " west " is in accordance with some Eastern-Asian usages.

The name of the western river is known to have been *Go-ma*. If this meant " lower-river ", in which eventuality the eastern may have been called **Go-ya*, the case for the alternative rendering would be strong.

Concerning the parishes, streets, and personal names see below (pp. 50–63, 292–6). It is likely that the parishes

belong respectively to the districts with which they are associated, namely Śi-ro-ña to that west of the rivers, Has-go-ña *to that east of the rivers, Bar-ma-ro-ña to* the district between the two; and the street Ba-zo-ña *will be in the actual town of Khotan. The term tshar "parish" will now* occupy us.

B: *The Parishes* (tshar) *and streets* (sraṅ)

The term *tshar* occurs in some fragmentary and hardly legible documents which usually seem to be lists of soldiers or officials stationed in particular places. Since one of the places mentioned, namely Dro-tir, has been previously ("The Language of Ancient Khotan" in *Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 262) noted as occurring in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan, where it is styled *lyons* "district", it would seem that the latter term is a Tibetan rendering of *tshar*. That the word may denote a subdivision of a *sde*, or regiment, has been shown above (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 827); but even in that passage we have a *yul-yig* "district list", and in view of the territorial arrangement of the Tibetan armies it is likely that, as in the case of *sde*, so in that of *tshar* the local sense was the *prius*. The term seems to have been originally not Tibetan, but Khotanī, as is evidenced by the fact that the persons named in connection with *tshars* are invariably designated Khotanīs. Possibly the name of the oldest Khotan shrine *Tsar-ma* (see below, p. 63) may mean merely "lower parish", being short for *Tsar-ma-ḫjo* "temple of the lower parish", which in fact occurs. But *ma* may be merely a termination, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0074 (wood, c. 19·5 × 3, cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 4 *recto* of clear, regular, cursive, *dbu-can* script—perhaps palimpsest— + ll. 3 *verso*, a different document in a more cursive hand, rather faint).

Verso: [1] ༄ | ['O . nal . Li . Ḫu . ten .] gi . so . pa . tshar. Ḫdzam . ñaḫi . Li . Gi . chog . gis . Rgya . Legs . khriḫi .

[2] . . . nas . bre . lṅa . ẖtshal . | pa . daṅ . | 'O . toṅ . Sgo . mo . so . pa . tshar . Ka . to . ži . ña . Li . Śa[n ?] [3] . . . -o . Kva . tsheẖi (choẖi ?) . nas . bre . do . ẖtshal˥

"The *'o-nal,* the Khotan H̱u-ten soldier, the Khotanī Gi-chog, of Parish H̱dzam-ña, requires five *bre* of barley *belonging to* Rgya (Chinaman ?) Legs-khri; and the 'O-toṅ Sgo-mo soldier, the Khotanī Śan . . , of Parish Ka-to-ži-ña, requires two *bre* of barley belonging to . . . Kva-tshe (cho ?)."

Notes

l. 1. *'o-nal,* which occurs elsewhere (M.I. ii, 25 and 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58*a*; xxvii, 11), seems to be a military designation (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 564).

Li H̱u-ten, "Khotan H̱u-ten," denotes, no doubt, the city H̱u-ten, to which the name always appertains, of the Li (Khotan) country.

Rgya Legs-khri: If this is a Chinaman (*Rgya*), he is here honoured with a Tibetan name.

l. 2. *'O-ton Sgo-mo* is, no doubt, a variant of Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, concerning which place see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq.).

3. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0096 (paper, fol. no. 6 in vol., a fragment of irregular shape; greatest height, 15 cm.; greatest width, 14 cm.; discoloured; ll. 12 *recto* + 11 *verso* of ordinary, cursive, *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] . . | . ya . .
[2] . . -u . yaẖi . Li . 'Um : de . . .
[3] . . . śul : du : | H̱grom : paẖi . sde : [m] . . .
[4] . . -ṅ (?) . l[o] . ñaẖi : Li : Bu : ñon . dag : | tshar. De . .
[5] . . . . glan . myi . Stag . rton : | tshugs . pond | tshar. Ts . . .
[6] . . r . mo . roẖi : Li : Sar . žoṅ | ꣸ | ẖbaṅs . la . yo . . .
[7] . . . ñaẖi . Li . Ho (Rho ?) : ne (śe ? že ?) . | tshar : Śir . no . ẖi : Li . Ko . [ś]e . . .

[8] . . . . gcom.bahi : sde : ra.śaṅs : Gsas. . . .
[9] . . . | tshar : Byi.ro.ñe (hi ?).Li : Bu.ñon . . . .
[10] . . . . mo.ža.hi.Li.Gu.dag : | | . . . .
[11] . . . Hgrom.pahi.sde | g-i . . . .
[12] . . . drag | tshar . Ha (Rha ?).-o . .
[B] [1] . nad (?) || . . . Phro.ṅo
[2] . . · G-yar.skyan gi.sde . . .
[3] . [L]i. | Wi.[d-].[s]a || tshar : Phun.bu.do . . .
[4] . . tshar Pan.ro.ñahi.Li.Meg (Rmag ?).su[r] . . .
[5] . . . ri : zur . . . [sran] · | Hgrom.pahi.sde : . . . .
[6] . [*tsha*]r · Śo.žo.ñahi Li Cam.po la : | tshar : Su.dor
[7] . s.tshugs.pond || tshar · Has : lo ñahi . . . .
[8] hdzind.byar sar : lha.mtsho.hi.sde . . .
[9] . -e.lus | tshar.Me žali.hi . . . .
[10] . . -i.ñahi Li : Ko hag (heg ?) || tsh . .
[11] . . · sde g-yer [l]o.Khve

[A] [2] "The Khotanī 'Um-de of *Han-gu*-ya
[3] ". . In . . śul, the Hgrom-pa regiment
[4] ". the Khotanī Bu-ñon-dag of Parish . n-lo-ña. Of Parish De . . .
[5] ". . the *glan-myi* Stag-rton, sergeaunt. Of Parish Ts . . .
[6] ". . the Khotanī Sar-žon, of Parish . *Bar*-mo-ro. Among the subjects . . .
[7] ". . the Khotanī Ho-ne (śe ? že ?) : the Khotanī Ko-śe, of Parish Śir-no . . .
[8] " . Regiment . . gcom-pa, the *ra-śans* Gsas . . .
[9] ". the Khotanī Bu-ñon . . ., of Parish Byi-ro-ña
[10] ". . the Khotanī Gu-dag, of . . mo-ža . . .
[11] ". . Regiment Hgrom-pa . . .
[12] ". . Parish Ha- -o . . .
[B] [1] ". . . Phro-no . . .
[2] ". . . Regiment G-yar-skyan . . .
[3] ". . . Wi-*de*-sa. Of Parish Phun-bu-do . . .

[4] " . . . the Khotanī Meg(Rmag ?)-sur, of Parish Pan-ro-ña . . .

[5] " . . . Regiment Ḫgrom-pa . .

[6] " . . . the Khotanī Cam-po-la, of Parish Śo-żo-ña. Of Parish Su-dor . . .

[7] " . . . sergeaunt. Of Parish Has-lo-ña . . .

[8] " . . Regiment . . ḫdzind-byar-sar-lha-mtsho . .

[9] " . . Of Parish Me-żali . .

[10] " . . . the Khotanī Ko-ḫag (ḫeg ?) of *Parish* . . -ı-ña . . .

[11] " . . . Regiment . . . the *g-yer-lo* Khve . . "

Notes

We have here evidently a schedule of certain selected persons belonging to particular regiments. Of such regiments a list will be supplied later ; here it may suffice to note that some are found in several documents, e g. the above-named *Ḫgrom-pa* regiment is mentioned also in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0031, and *a*, v, 008. The *G-yar-skyan* regiment is very possibly, as we have suggested (in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085, for the *Yar-skyen-gi-sde*), "the Yarkand regiment."

Glan-myi, *tshugs-pon*, *ra-śans*, and *g-yer-lo* (?) are military designations (the last-named apparently) which will be considered later. For *tshugs-pon* the translation "sergeaunt" is merely a makeshift. The word *tshugs* occurs usually in connection with small numbers of soldiers, and often there is a *tshugs-pon* "sergeaunt" and his subordinate *ḫog-pon* "corporal", while sometimes we have a *tshugs-pa* "a member of a *tshugs*". The military connections exclude the dictionary meaning "caravansarai" for *tshugs*, and it might be convenient if *tshugs* were equivalent to *phyugs* "animal", so that the *tshugs-pon* would be an officer in charge of horses, camels, etc. But possibly *tshugs* may denote camping arrangements, so that a *tshugs-pon* would be a sort of minor "adjutant" or "quarter-master". *Ra-saṅs* (*sic*) will be found

infra, pp. 56. 77, and it recurs in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159, *c*, ii, 0017, and elsewhere (Tibetan chronicle, ll. 19 and 22 *ra-saṅ-rje*).

It is natural to inquire as to the purpose of such lists, which must, as will appear, have been numerous. Plainly these are not regimental lists, but notes of soldiers belonging to different regiments, who were stationed, or living, in detached places. Probably they were on duty, employed in espionage or in other special tasks, one of which will have been to form "relays" (*so-res*) for conveyance of correspondence, a function of which we often hear. It is likely in fact that the word *so* "soldier", which in Tibetan means "keeper", "guard", "watchman", "spy", "emissary", originally denoted "one who goes", corresponding to the Sanskrit *cara* (used in the Kharoṣṭhī documents). In our documents we sometimes (e.g. M.T. *a*, ii, 0048) find the phrase *so-rjed*, which should mean "soldier-memorandum" (cf. *rjed-tho* "note-book", *rjed-byan* "invoice", *brjed-tho* "memorandum"); and, as this phrase occurs on the *verso* of one of the lists (*a*, iv, 0074, p. 50 *supra*, a separate document), it is likely that it denotes precisely such a list.

4. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0095 (paper, fol. 36 in vol.; c. 28·5 × 8 cm.; ll. 5 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; on the *recto* ll 5 in a different hand, containing a complete letter on another subject).

Verso. [1] gyi.rtse.na.B[o]d.gñis.Li.gñ[i]s | Stag.rtse. Khri . skugs . ḫjor . na . Bod . gsum | la | Grom . paḫi [2] sde . my[i] . Tshes . kon | Myan . roḫi . sde . lo . nan . Myes . chuṅ | Rtsal . mo . pag . gi . sde . [3] sña . śur . Stag . bzaṅ | | | [4] Bye . ma . ḫdord . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig . | Yaṅ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . phur . myi . Rke . tuṅ | Ḫo . tso . pag . gi . sde . sro . [5] Sti (Lti ?) . kro | tshard . Jam . ñaḫi . Li . Ceḫu . ḫdo . | 8 8 | Ho . toṅ . Gy[u] . mo . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gchig | Phod . kar . gyi . . .

"In . . . gyi.rtse two Tibetans, two Khotanīs.

"In Khri-skugs-*ḫjor* of Stag-rtse three Tibetans, [namely],

the man Tshes-koṅ of the Grom-pa regiment, the *lo-nan* Myes-chuṅ of the Myaṅ-ro regiment, the *sña-śur* Stag-bzaṅ of the Rtsal-mo-pag regiment.

"In Bye-ma-ẖdord-gyi-rtse two Tibetans, one Khotanī, [namely], *phur-myi* Rke-tuṅ of the Yaṅ-rtsan regiment, *sro* Sti[Lti ?]-kro of the H̱o-tso-pag regiment, the Khotanī Ceẖu-ẖdo of parish Jam-ña.

"In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, one Khotanī, namely . . . . . of the Phod-kar regiment."

Notes

Concerning the place-names ending in *-rtse* (*Stag-rtse, Bye-ma-hdord-gyi-rtse*), and concerning Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, see *infra* (pp. 90 sqq., 251 sqq). As regards the regiments see *supra* (p. 53).

The terms *lo-nan* and *phur-myi* will recur *infra* (pp. 253, 258); *sña-śur* is found in M.T. *a*, iii, 0068, etc. *Sro* occurs in M. Tāgh. 0239 in a military connection, also M.I. vii (viii), 33, xiv, 41; but its precise meaning is not apparent.

5. M. Tāgh. *a*, i, 0031 (paper fragment, of irregular shape, fol. no. 3 in vol., greatest width and height, c. 16 × 21 cm.; ll. 16, fragmentary, of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . tshard . Ha (?) . ban . gyi . . .

[2] . . sde . ra : sans . Li (?) . . .

[3] sraṅ (?) . tshar . Dro . tir : gi : Li | Phu (Ha ?) . sgra . . .

[4] . . bu . [*rtsa*]ṅ . gi : sde Rlo . sag . myi | . .

[5] . cun . de | ° | Drugu . [c]or . na . Śaṅ : sde . H̱a . ža . . .

[6] sdeẖi . Li : Yeye . tshar · Nos . go : ñaẖi : Li . Chu (Mu ?) . . .

[7] . . po . tshar . Bar . mo . ro . ñaẖi : Li : Byi . de . tshard . . .

[8] . . Peẖu . mar : na : H̱brom . gi : sde . Co . ze . Lha . . .

[9] . . dir . śi (gi ?) : Li : Ku . žu . sran . Byi . nom (chom ?) . naẖi

[10] . . tshar : Las . ro . ñaḥi . Sen . ge . l . .
[11] . . r . ne : | 8 | snan . Gsal | legs
[12] . . śaḥi . . r . tshar : Dar (ṅ ?) . ci
[13] . . že . . bgyi . . n : khri . pa
[14] . | tshar . Ha[s] . *ro* . ñaḥi | Li . Byi
[15] . . . . . na . . gi
[16] . . Li . Śi . nir | tshar

[1] " Parish Ha (?)-ban . . .
[2] " . regiment, *ra-sans* the Khotanī . .
[3] " . . . the Khotanī Phu-sgra, of Parish Dro-tir . . .
[4] " . . Rlo-sag-myi of the . . bu . n regiment.
[5–7] " . . cun-de.

" . . In the Dru-gu *cor* the Ḥa-ža , of the Śan regiment; the Khotanī Ye-ye, of the . . . regiment; . . the Khotanī Chu (Mu ?) . . , of parish Nos-go-ña; the Khotanī Byi-de, of Parish Bar-mo-ro-ña, of parish . . .

[8–16] " . . In Peḥu-mar the *co-ze* Lha . . . of the Ḥbrom regiment; the Khotanī Ku-žu, of Parish Dro-tir; . . . of street Byi-nom (chom ?)-na . .; the Khotanī Sen-ge, of Parish Las-ro-ña; the Khotanī -r-ne of . . . .; . . . . *snan* Gsal-legs; . . . , of Parish Dar(Dan ?)-ci . . . . , the Khotanī Byi . . . , of Parish Has-ro-ña; the Khotanī Śi-nir, of . . ; . . . of parish . . . ."

Notes

Concerning the Ḥa-ža, the Dru-gu, and the word *cor* see *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 51 sqq., 68, 80, 85, 808; 1928, pp. 559–60; and *infra* (p. 85); concerning *ra-sans* see *supra* (pp. 53–4).

Peḥu-mar will recur below (pp. 276–8). The Parish Dro-tir, which will recur in the next document, is evidently the *ljons* (" district ") Dro-tir of the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 262).

6. M. Tāgh. 0492 (paper fragment, discoloured; c. 9 × 9 cm.; parts of ll. 8 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . -u . . .
[2] . . . [r . ḫi . śu (bu ?) . na .] r[i] | [sraṅ] . . . .
[3] [tsh]ar . . la . ro . ñaḫi . Li . Phu . de | lhag . . .
[4] -ḫi . sde . su . tu . Lha . lod | sran . No . ña . Lı .
[5] . . . n . | Byan . slaṅs . stod . paḫi . ḫcaṅ . . . .
[6] . . . [s]u . mo . no . ḫi . Sku (Rku ?) . . . .
[7] . . . . s : lo . no . ña . Li . San . ga . ḫ (l ?) . . .
[8] . . . te (de ?) . sa . | tshar . [Dr]o . tir . Wı (?) . . .

" . . . . street . . the Khotanī Phu-de of Parish . . la-ro-ña ; the *su-tu* Lha-lod of the Lhag . . . regiment ; the Khotanī . . , of street No-ña ; the . . . . of the Byan-slans-stod-pa [regiment] ; Sku . . . . , of Parish -su-mo-no ; the Khotanī Saṅ-ga-, of -s-lo-no-ña , ... *te*-sa ; Wı . . , of Parish Dro-tir."

Notes

Concerning the Parish Dro-tır see *supra* (p. 50). The expression *su-tu* seems not to be found elsewhere.

7. M. Tāgh. *a*, ıii, 0074 (fol. no. 15 in vol., paper fragment, much lost at left : ll. 7 of ordinary cursive, rather neat, *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . gy- st- (gyi-sde ?) . m[ya]n . Khu ḫphan
[2] . . . myi . sde . Gce . ḫu (?) . gtshes
[3] . . . thu (?) . rgyal . Ta . gur (n ?) . na
[4] . . . : L[i] . Gu-dag | 8 Phag . sna
[5] . . . r . rvan (dvan ?) . san . | tshar . Go . sto
[6] . . . ra . yo . Li : Wı . ne . sa .
[7] . . yo . ña . Li . Khu . le | sraṅ

" Myaṅ Khu-ḫphan, of the . . . . regiment ; Gceḫu-gtshes, of the . . . myi regiment . . . Thu-rgyal.

" In Ta-gu . . . the Khotanī Gu-dag.

" In . . . . Phag-sna . . . r-rvaṅ-saṅ ; . . . . . of Parish Go-sto- . . ; the Khotanī Wi-ne-sa of . . . ra-yo ; the Khotanī Khu-le, of . . . yo-ña ; . . . . street . . ."

Notes

Myan is, no doubt, a tribal name, since *Myaṅ-ro* occurs as a place-name. For other occurrences see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 823. Concerning Ta-gu see *infra*, p. 280.

8. M. Tāgh. 0513 (paper fragment, left end of fol.; c. 4 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as No. 0492; ll. 6 (beginning) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] lod | tshar . Ro . . .
[2] [tsh]an (slan ?) . myi . sde . . .
[3] na . mkhar . sa . .
[4] Li . Bu (Cu ?) . de . san . .
[5] tshar : [Ga]s (?) | [st]o . . .
[6] . . -o . mo . . . . .

" . . . . lod ; . . . parish Ro . . . ; . . . . regiment . . tshaṅ(slan ?)-myi ; . . . . town . . . ; the Khotanī " Bu (Cu ?)-de san . . ; . . . . parish Gas (?)-sto . . ."

9. M Tāgh. 0503 (paper fragment, irregular; c. 7 × 7 cm.; probably from the same document as Nos. 0492 and 0513; ll. 6 (parts) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . d . | [tsh]ar . Zval . r[o] . . .
[2] . ñe . Li . Saṅ . ge . B-o . .
[3] . . [St]ag . H̱phan . [ch]uṅ . | tshar . Ba . rog . . .
[4] . . gyi . [sde] . glan . sum . Bu . lod | . .
[5] . . 8 | Lam . [ko . ña] . na . Ña . .
[6] . . Li . Gu . [d]e (ce ?) . | 8

" . . of Parish Zval-ro . . . ; the Khotanī Saṅ-ge of . ñe ; the 'Tiger' H̱phan-chun of . . . . , . . . parish Ba-rog . . . ; *glan-sum* Bu-lod of . . . . regiment.

" In Lam-ko-ña the Khotanī Gu-de (ce ?) of . . . Ña . . ."

Notes

Glan-sum is perhaps a military designation ; cf. *glan-myi* (*supra*, p. 53).

10. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0054 (paper fragment; fol. no. 44 in vol.; c. 21·5 × 6·5 cm.; l. 2 (No. 1 partly lower part only) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . [H̱jaẖ] . la : tshar . Wam . na . g[*de*-]. Pu . de | ° ° |
. . . .

[2] tshar . Men . ko . ña . Li . De . d[e] . tshar . 'A . ti . ko (?) . . . Śin . de | tshar . Bun . [b]o (?) (co ? so ?) . do . ña . Li.

" . . . in Parish Wam-na *gde-* (?) Pu-de. . . . The Khotanī De-de, of Parish Men-ko-ña. *The Khotanī* Śin-de, of Parish 'A-ti-ko . The Khotanī . . . , of Parish Bun-bo(?)-do-ña."

11. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0010 (wood, c. 12·5 × 2·5 cm.; fragmentary at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, black).

| : | tsard . Han . ge . ña . ro . yo . ẖi | Li | Hi . . :

"The Khotanī Hi . . . of Parish Han-ge-ña-ro-yo." No doubt a visiting card, or docket.

12. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0018 (wood, c. 15 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; faint and partly illegible).

[1] | : | tsar . H̱den : ro . ñaẖi . Li . Ddzadz[1] . [*dod*] . ẖ . . . . . .

[2] . [*Li* . *Ri* . *zo* (gro ?) *Tse* . *ldan* | (?) . tsar . H̱de . ro [*ñaẖi*] . . [*żar*]

"The Khotanī Ddzadz-dod of Parish H̱den-ro-ña. The Khotanī Ri-zo Tse-ldan (?). Parish H̱de[*n* ?]-ro-ña."

Similar to the preceding.

13. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper, c. 15 × 14 cm.; fragmentary at right, discoloured; ll. 9 *verso* of rather clumsy, square, *dbu-can* script, somewhat rubbed and smudged; *recto* a different document, see *infra*, p. 92).

[1] Corrected from *Dzaẖ* (?).

[1] ༄ | | Spre . ḥuḥi . lo . hi | dgun | sla | tha | cuṅs | kyi | ṅo . [la] . . . [2] rje . daṅ *sa* [1] . dpun | pon | blon | Mtsho | bzaṅ | [*po* | *ḥi* | gso*l*] . . . [3] ži tshar | Žum . baḥi | Li | Mar | son | la | Yaṅ | rtsan . gi | s[d]e . . . [4] bcu | gchig | dan | ral | g[ri] | gchig | m[ɪal] . te | ḥbru . . . [5] bra [*gchig*] [ś]eṅs | na | dnu | ḥbul | [ba*r* b*r*gyis] | | dus | der . . . [6] lpraḥ | yug | gchig | las | yug | gñis | su | sgyur | . . [7] khon | ḥi | sgo | phrugs | daṅ | nan . no [2] | gchi | mchis | pa . [*la*] [3] [8] gyan | žal | chu | ma | mchis | par | rgyis | khon | ta | ḥi | khnas . . . [9] chogs | tshegs | stap | ho | dpan | du | yan | Maṅ | [k]ra [4] | gyi | sd[e] | sbrad | . .

"Beginning of the last winter month of the Ape year . . petition of . . chief and army commander Councillor Mtsho-bzan-po . of the Yan-rtsan regiment having paid to the Khotanī Mar-son of Parish Žum-ba eleven . . . and one sabre, it was arranged that he should deliver turquoises . . . . If at that time *delivery should not take place,* then for one piece of turquoise two should be substituted . . his private possessions, or any wealth within his dwelling, *might be seized* without complaint. His guarantors were set down as co-debtors(?). In witness whereof the *sbrad* . of the Man-k(h)ar regiment. . "

Notes

This is an agreement, or legal decision, of a kind exemplified *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 574–5, 593–4 In this case the gaps prevent our knowing what the Khotanī was to pay for the soldier's goods. On the other hand, the document furnishes an instance of civil, and not military, use of designation by parish.

l. 6. *gchig-las-yug-gñis-su-sgyur*· cf. *JRAS*. 1927, p. 813, and 1928, p. 594.

[1] Crossed out.
[2] Erroneous for *nor*.
[3] Crossed out.
[4] Compendious for *kar* ?

l. 8. *žal-mchu*: "protest," or "complaint", as *supra* (*JRAS*. 1928, p. 578).

khnas-pa: This is evidently a compendious writing of *kha-blaṅs-pa* "guarantor", which occurred *supra* (*JRAS*. 1928, pp. 578, 593). In M.I. xliv, 00125, we have *khams-kyi-dban-po* perhaps for *khas-blans-kyi-dbaṅ-po*.

l. 9. *sbrad*: Apparently a military title; cf. M.T. 0345, and b, i, 0097 (*dbrad*, p 89 *infra*).

14. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0030 (wood; c. 11·5 × 2·5 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] [*Sp*]*e* . ḫi . Li | sran . Ma . žo . . .
| ḫi . Li . . .

"Khotanī . . of . . . spe | Khotanī . . of street Ma-žo-"

The names of the "parishes" cited in the above texts are as follows:—

'A-ti-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Bar-ma(mo)-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048; *a*, i, 0031).
Ba-rog- (0503).
Bun-gto (go-do ?)-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Byi-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
Dar-ci . . (*a*, i, 0031).
De . . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Dro-tir (0492, *a*, i, 0031).
Dzam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).
Go-sto . . . (*a*, iii, 0074, 0513 (?)).
Ha (?)-ban . . . (*a*, i, 0031).
Ha . -o . . . . (*a*, ii, 0096).
Han-ge-ña-ro-yo (*a*, iii, 0010).
Has-lo(go, ro)-ña (*a*, i, 0031; *b*, i, 0048; *a*, ii, 0096).
Ḫde-ro-ña (c, ii, 0018).
Ḫden-ro-ña (*c*, ii, 0018).
Ḫdzam-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).
Jam-ña (*b*, i, 0095).

Ka-to-ži-ña (*a*, iv, 0074).
Lam-ko-ña (0503)
Men-ko-ña (*b*, ii, 0054).
Me-ža-li (*a*, ii, 0096).
Nos-go-ña (*a*, i, 0031).
Pan-ro-ña (*a*, ii, 0096).
Phun-bu-do (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ro (0513)
Śi-ro-ña (*b*, i, 0048)
Śir-no (*a*, ii, 0096).
Śo-žo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096)
Su-dor (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ts r-mo-ro (*a*, ii, 0096).
Wam-na (*b*, ii, 0054).
Žum-ba (0050)
Zval-ro (0503)
mo-za (*a*, ii, 0096)
n-lo-ña (*a*, ii, 0096)
s-lo-no-ña (0492).
ro-ña (0492)
. yo-ña (*a*, iii, 0074).
. u-ya (*a*, ii, 0096).
su-mo-no (0492).
dir (*a*, i, 0031)
. i-ña (*a*, ii, 0096)
la-ro-ña (0492).

In addition to these *Sag-ti* seems to occur in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0092 (No. 20 below) and in 0508.

The most characteristic feature of these names is the terminal syllable *ña*, which appears in the great majority of them. This confirms the suggestion, previously (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, pp 259, 260; *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 49, 61–2) made, that it had a meaning similar to that of "Sanskrit *bhūmi*, *sthāna*, *kṣetra*, and the like", or, we might add, the Teutonic *ham*, *heim*, etc. In a number of cases the two final syllables are *ro-ña*, which combination may have

conveyed a combined meaning. For the *no* in *Śir-no* the explanation previously suggested (*The Language of Ancient Khotan*, p. 267) for the "little hill" *Ḫgus-no* may also be adduced.

The "streets" (*sran*) mentioned are :—

Ba-żo-ña (*b*, i, 0048).

Byi-nom(chom ?)-na (*a*, i, 0031).

Ma-żo . . (*a*, vi, 0030).

No-ña (0492).

The general resemblance of these names of parishes and streets to those cited on pp. 264–6 of the article quoted will escape no one. It may be noted that in the bilingual document published in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we probably have a parish name of the same kind, *Mar-śi-ko-ña*.

C. *Temples or Monasteries*

15. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0012 (wood ; c. 21·5 × 1 × 2 cm. ; complete ; on one face (D) many notches with lines ; l. 1 (face A) + l. 1 (face C) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] Li . Gos . de | Li . Śir . de . | | Li . Hir . bod .

[C] Lha . gan . Tshar . ma . ḫjo | Lha . gaṅ . Tshar . ma . ḫjo | Lha . gan . Ḫgum . tir . |

"The Khotanī Gos-de, of the Tshar-ma-ḫjo temple ; the Khotanī Śir-de, of the Tshar-ma-ḫjo temple ; the Khotanī Hir-bod, of the Ḫgum-tir temple."

Since the syllable *ḫjo* is often found terminating the names of Khotan shrines, the Tshar-ma-ḫjo is probably identical with the famous Tsar-ma foundation mentioned by Hiuan-Tsang (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 237–8), while the Ḫgum-tir caitya was almost equally famous (see *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp. 262–3).

The Tsar-ma-ḫjo is named also on another wooden slip (M. Tāgh. 0180) ; also ? *b*, i, 0046.

16. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0070 (wood, broken away at right

before being inscribed; c. 12 × 2·5 cm.; complete; l. 1 of clear, cursive *dbu-can* script).

Lha . gan . Gu . žan . do | Li . Sar . rnoṅ |

"The Khotanī Sar-rnon of the Gu-zan-do temple (*Lha-khan*)"

The temple in question is probably related to the Vihāra Ḥgu-gžan-ta, mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle and discussed in *Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus*, vol. vi, p. 187, and *Asia Major*, vol. ii, pp 264 and 266.

17 M Tāgh. *b*, i, 0090 (wood, c 8·5 × 2 cm; complete, l 1 of small, clear, cursive *dbu-can* script)

༄ | | Lha gan Bru . ño . Li Ku . chi . śi . |

"The Khotanī Ku-chi-śi of the Bru-ño (Phru-ño) temple."

This temple or monastery also is mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Asia Major*, vol ii, p 266) and associated texts (*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . Jubilee Volumes*, iii, p. 31).

18 M Tāgh *a*, vi, 0023 (wood; c 11·5 × 2 cm, complete, ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script, l. 1 *verso* in a larger hand, more formal, a writing exercise).

[A] ༄ | . | So ma ña . Be . de | j[o] gyi | Žo . da :

[B] ka kha ga | na ca cha ja ña da ba na

"Žo-da of the Be-de temple in So-ma-ña."

Notes

Žo-da may, or may not, be a personal name; if not, it is perhaps an official designation.

So-ma-ña Be-de-jo · This is, probably, the famous So-ma-ña or Sum-ña vihāra, the *So-mo-je* of Hiuan-Tsang, concerning which see *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 194 n, 223–5.

It seems, therefore, that the documents [1] name several of the most famous religious establishments in Khotan, confirming the literary records and supplying, where required, a chronological *terminus ad quem*.

[1] Add 18a M T. *b* i, 0045 (wooden slip, c 8 × 2 cm; clear *dbu-can*). [1] ༄ | . | Lha-gan Keḥu ḥgan . tshe . | Rgya [2] Sam du. "Chinaman Sam-du of the Keḥu-ḥgan-tshe temple" On this (Khe-gan-tsa) vihāra see *Asia Major*, ii, p. 266.

D. *The Citadel of Khotan*

The actual fortified citadel of Khotan (*sku-mkhar*), which is several times mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), is once named in the documents.

19. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0022 (wooden stick, of irregular shape, four-sided, one side only partially flattened and retaining a portion of the bark; c. 27 × 2 × 1 cm.; ll. 2 + 1 + 1 of coarse *dbu-can* script, blurred and in places difficult to read; four notches and six lines on face A).

[A 1] [Ph]agi . lo . la . skun . kar . H̱u . then . du | dmar . sraṅ . [A 2] dgu . [gs]o[g]s . brnans . g[ch]o [B] pa . mchis . nas . | dgra . zun . gyi . mtshams . gyi . son (so . na ? so-ne ? so-ni ?) [C] kar : | lhā . rtsā . . . ẖgum . drug [D] lṅa (sna ? śaṅ ?) khram . ẖdi [1] . ẖdi . la . mchis . pa . deṅ . san.

" Of the men employed at nine copper *sran* in all who came in the Hog year to the Fort of H̱u-then, six have died in the . . . . of the guard-lines: five are at present still in this indenture."

Notes

1. A 2: *brnaṅs-gcho*: Perhaps for °*tsho* " company employed ", with *tsho* as in *so-tsho* (p. 267 *infra*), *mkhar-tsho* (*c*. i, 001, etc.), etc., and *brnans* = *bsnan* in *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 556, 559. *Gsogs* may indicate the " collective " pay.

B. *dgra-zun*: This seems to be for *dgra-zon* " on the watch ".

D. *khram*: Here the stick itself is the *khram* " inventory " (concerning the word see *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 69–70), as is indeed indicated by the notches on it. The word recurs below, p. 81. The dictionaries also give *ñag* (or *ña-ga*)-*khram* with the sense of " notch " or " indenture ".

E. *The Khotan King*

During the period when the Tibetans occupied the fort at Śiṅ-śan the whole of the Khotan country must have been

[1] Crossed out.

under their control. That period certainly, as Sir Aurel Stein has shown (*Serindia*, pp. 1287–91) on the basis of Chinese coins and documents, covered the last part of the eighth century A D To this time, therefore, belong the Tibetan documents which we have examined. They testify, as we have seen, to a constant correspondence with the city Khotan (Hu-ten), a control of its neighbourhood, and an active intercourse with Tibetan soldiers in other parts of Chinese Turkestan and naturally also with Tibet proper.

20 M Tāgh *b*, i, 0092 (paper, c 27 5 × 10 5 cm.; discoloured, ll 8 *recto* + 8 *verso* of fine, thin, cursive, *dbu-can* script, rather smudged, and *recto* somewhat faint, from l. 8 *recto* a different pen and showing some special (numeral ?) signs, signature at end in a different hand between ll. 7–8 *recto* and also in a blank space in middle of l 8 apparent signs, really seen through from *verso*, similarly in left margin *recto* and slightly elsewhere In ll 1–2 *recto* a monogram)

[A 1] ❦ | | nan rje po Khri . bžre [1] . dan . Hphan . bžer . dan Rgval bžre [1] . mched kyi žasnar | *monogram* | Htran . cedpo [2] [A 2] [3] hi mchid . gsol . bah | nan . po . hphrul . dan . hdra ba . mched . kyi . ža . snar . nas . thugs . bdeh . [A 3] žes . thoste . glo bah rab . tu . gdagspa . žin . mchis . mtshes | | Hel . ge . dan . Nag . tshur [A 4] lku [4] . | cig . ces . byun bah | Mdo . bžre [1] . rje . blas . gyis . btsald . pye . ma mdzald | bdag gi [A 5] myi . [*sk*]u . stag . sum [5] . la . skur . žin mchis na . | | dgroh bahi . thabs . ni . rgyal . ta bras . bu [A 6] gdags la . bsku | Nag tshur . žugs . la . bsregs . nas . rgyal . ta bras . bu . dan . Nag . [A 7] na . tshur . gñisu bsgyurd . te blkun . na Sag . ti . hi . tshar .

[1] Compendious for *bžer*.

[2] Written compendiously and somewhat doubtful, parts of the sign being due to the *verso*. A reading *du* (simply) is *possible*.

[3] There is here an apparent sign, due to the *verso*.

[4] *sku* (?).

[5] *sug.zum.la* "with hands closed up" ?

phin . b . . . [A 8] ha . lo . [*bcas* . ste] . steald . | *blank with inverted signs transparent from verso* | : | Mdo . lo . ḫi . [sl-] . . . . [B 1] mkhar . gyi . [S]luṅs . pon . ḫdir . mchis . na . žal . mchu . ḫi . slad . na . | . . . [B 2] gdaḫ . na . | khos . kyan . gya . ža [1] . gyu . dag . bgyis . te . kho . ni . ḫdi . nas . śul . . . [B 3] te . mchis . na . | phas. kyan . bkaḫ . yi . ge . ḫgaḫ . yan . ma . mchis . na . | bch [2] bdag . c . . . [B 4] kyan . ḫdi . na . rab . tu . myi . bde . žiṅ . mchis . | . | ji . ḫdra . ba . tsham . bkaḫs . sprin . bar . gsol [B 5] spyis . ji . ḫdra . ba . ni . bdag [3] . gis . gsol . gyan . phyi . ḫtshal . thugs . la . mṅaḫ . ba . lags . na [B 6] lku . don. phran . tshigs . mams . kyan . [m]yur . du . bsgrubs . te | ma . thogs . pa . žig . du . tshur . byon . par [4] [B 7] gsol . || žal . b[za]npo . mthoṅ . gi . bar . du . stans . dgyal . yab . sras . thugs. rtag [B 8] du . bde . bar . smond . chin . mchis | | [rgya] | [rgya] | [rgya] [*then in a different hand*] | gden . pho . lod.

[A 1–3] "In the presence of our brothers, Home Ministers Khri-bžer and Ḫphan-bžer and Rgyal-bžer : letter-petition of King Ḫtran-ced-po of Khotan. Having heard that the brothers, the Home Ministers, are happy in mind, I am in entire serenity of spirit. [A 3–5] As regards some robberies having taken place on this side of Hel-ge and Nag, the last dispatch from his excellency Mdo-bžer has come. I am sending to the Three Tigers a robber man of my own people. [A 5–8] The forfeit of fruit sent to your serenities at the time of the discussion having been burned in a fire this side of Nag, the forfeit of fruit for within and this side Nag became double · it having been stolen, on reaching the Parish Sag-ti . . was sent together with . . *ha-lo.* [B 1–3] Of the Mdo-lo district the commander of the Sluns in the town came here : after complaint . . was possible . he also has been acting

[1] Crossed out.

[2] Crossed out.

[3] Below this between the lines (above the words *thugs . la* in l. 5) is written the word *dlya* inverted.

[4] *r* below the line.

crookedly. He is now on the road away from here. [B 3–4] From beyond also no letter has come, so that I too here am very uneasy. [B 4–6] I pray you to notify me [*or* I beg to report] merely how things seem. Although generally I report how things seem, it is my intention to send [again] later. Robberies of minor importance shall be quickly settled: pray refer them here without delay. [B 7–8] Pending a sight of your auspicious countenances, I continue to pray for the perpetual happiness of the distinguished father and sons. | seal | seal | seal |Gden Pho-lod."

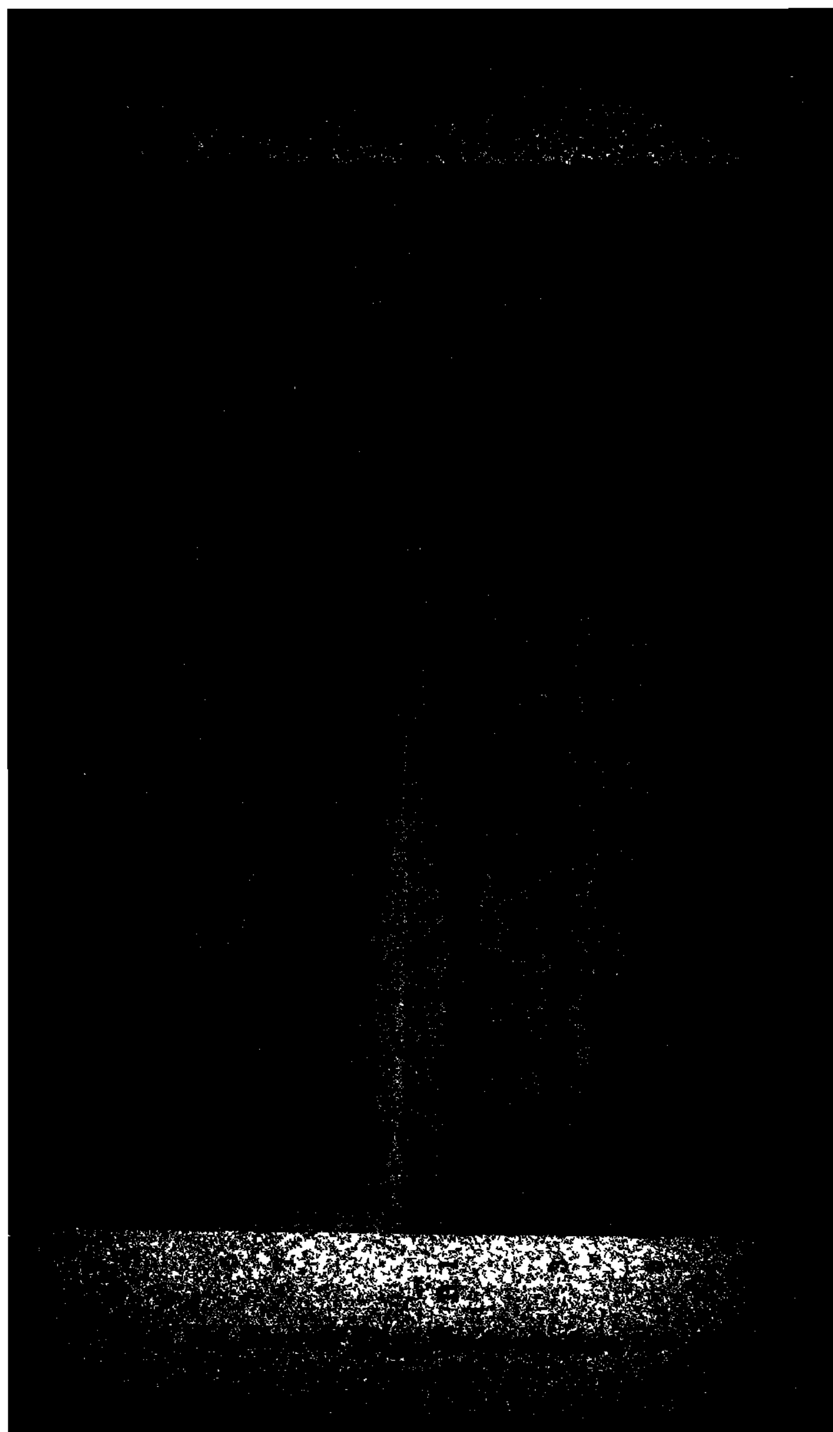
Notes

This document is distinguished from most of the others by its writing, which is somewhat calligraphic, and, to a certain extent, by its phraseology. Thus it uses in ll. 2 and 6 the word *gdags* "transparent", or "attached", which in the other documents does not seem to occur, and the polite word *mched* "brother" or "friend" is employed with reference to the distinguished officials who are addressed. Also the letter was corrected in the course of being put on paper.

Before the writer's name is written a sign which is clearly a monogram on the lines of the Phags-pa writing and the Dalai Lama's seal, but simpler and, of course, very much older (see the plate): it can plainly be read as *rgyal-po* "king". The king's name is *Ḫtran*, followed probably by the expression *ced-po* "great", written in a compendious form, an expedient exemplified in the documents in the case of other phrases and very habitual in later Tibetan writings.[1]

Now it happens that in a Tibetan letter [2] from an emissary of a Khotan king the Lion (*Sen-ge*) king is named *Mun-dmag-tran*, in which phrase the syllables *Mun-dmag*, which occur elsewhere, denote some kind of troops. The last syllable is the name which appears in our document. Professor Konow

[1] See M. Bacot's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, x, xix (1912), pp. 1 sqq.
[2] Publications of the Indian Institute, Oslo University, i, 3 (1929), *Two medieval documents from Tun-huang*, by F W. Thomas and Sten Konow.





has suggested that the king must be the Vijaya-bohan-chen-po of the Khotan Chronicle (see *Ancient Khotan*, p 582), and the *Viśa-Vāhaṃ* of a document published by Dr. Hoernle in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1901, Extra Number, i, pp. 29 sqq , and discussed by Professor Konow in the *JRAS*. 1914, pp. 339 sqq., and *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii, pp. 223 sqq.

This identification is reinforced by the addition of the phrase *ced-po* (if correctly read) in our document, a phrase appended to the name of no other Khotan king. Since *Ḫtran* is a good Tibetan equivalent (from *ḫdren* " draw ", " lead," as Professor Konow suggests) for the Sanskrit *vāhana*, it remains a question whether we yet have the king's name in its native form; the Sanskrit equivalent of *Mun-ḫmag-traṅ* will, as Professor Konow has suggested, be *-senā-vāhana*.

It is curious to note that in the emissary's letter *mched* is used as in our present document. This latter is of great importance, since it definitely proves that Vijaya-bohan-chen-po belonged to the latter half of the eighth century A.D.; it gives us a fixed point in the chronology of the Khotan kings.

Furthermore, it sheds a clear light upon the position of the Khotan king in relation to the Tibetan officers occupying the station of Śin-śan. It refers plainly to complaints of robberies committed, no doubt, by Khotanī people upon Tibetan goods and persons in transit. The king explains that he is taking steps to investigate and bring the offenders to justice, and he promises prompt attention to minor offences of like kind in the future. He was therefore, as was only natural, a ruler in no position to deny satisfaction to the Tibetans dominating his country.

l. 3. *Hel-ge* and *Nag*: See *infra*, pp. 270, 272. It will be seen that elsewhere also Nag is associated with robberies.

rje-blas: This title, which has occurred before (*JRAS*. 1927, p. 73, ll. 6, 9, etc.), seems to be applied to persons of great eminence in civil life or religion. It is the expression

rendered as a proper name by Colonel Waddell (*JRAS*. 1910, pp. 1252) in its occurrence in Lhasa inscriptions.

l. 4. *stag-sum*. The Tibetan authorities.

l. 5. *rgyal-ta*: This is evidently = *rgyal* in the sense of "fine" or "forfeit". The word has also the sense of *phala* "fruit", which suggests that the *bras-bu* "fruit" here may not be literal, but form part of a phrase or denote "interest"; but that is not certain, and Khotan was famous for its fruits.

In any case, as we may note, this use of the word *rgyal* clearly explains the *brgya-la* which caused us difficulty *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, p. 578. It recurs M.T. 0264, *b*, i, 0099.

l. 7. *Sag-ti-ḫi-tshar*. This "parish" has a name on the lines of Dro-tir, Ḫgum-tir, and San-tir, noted above; it is mentioned again in M. Tāgh 0508 (paper).

l. 8. The endorsement seems to be a note by an official to the effect that the king's gift has been dispatched. The reading is not clear, but *ha-lo* would mean "hollyhock" and *yu-thi* "jasmine".

Mdo-lo. This district has hitherto been known only from mention in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 583), which seems to indicate a territory in the direction of Polu. See *infra*, pp. 271–2.

l. B 1. *Sluns-pon*: On the *Sluns*, see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 820, where, as here, they seem to be different from ordinary soldiers.

žal-mchu "complaint" (see *supra*, *JRAS* 1928, pp. 578, 592–4, and p. 291 *infra*).

l. B 3. *phas* = *pha-las* "from beyond".

l. B 6. *tshur*: "hither", i.e. "to me".

l. B 7. *Stans-dgyal*. *Stans* = "style", "fashion". The phrase is evidently a politeness addressed to persons of high rank; it recurs in M I. i, 23, M. Tagh. *b*, i, 0098, *b* (*stan-dbyald*), 0503 (*stans-byal*) and 0436, published in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (*stans-bsal-bya*) *c*, ii, 0064 (*gtans-dbyal*).

l. B 8. *gden-pho-lod*. No doubt, the endorsement of the

king's secretary, or even the king himself after dictating the document.

21. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00121 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol.; c. 27·5 × 10 cm.; complete; ll. 4 of rather scrawled *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | rta . ḫi . lo . ḫi . dgun . blon . Klu . sgra . las . stsogs || pa . ḫi . ḫdun . tsa . Šel . than . du . btab . pa . lan : || [2] la || Yaṅ . rtsaṅ . gi . sde . Myaṅ . Lha . mthoṅ . Li . rjehi . tshugs . pa . Li . Bat : nag : li [1] . men . *l* [1] . tri [3] yug . 2 . gñis . sa [2] . lan . ḫdı . ḫi . dgun : sla . ra . ba . tshes . ñi . śu . gsum . la || skyeds [4] pu [3] . da . | ḫtsha[ld] . de . skyed . gyi .

"In answer to the letter dispatched at Šel-than at the winter meeting of Councillors Klu-sgra and the others in the Horse year. Myan Lha-mthon of the Yaṅ-rtsaṅ regiment lent (? *skyeds*) to the Khotanī Bat-nag, trooper of the Khotan king, on the 23rd of the first winter month of this year two pieces of silk. . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *Śel-than*: The place ("River-plain" ?) is not otherwise known.

l. 2. *tshugs-pa*: See *supra*, p. 53. "Trooper" is a makeshift.

In M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00159 (paper) also we have mention of a *Lı-rjeḫı-tshugs-pa* "trooper of the Khotan king".

22. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0042 (wood; c. 7·5 × 1 cm.; a fragment; hole for string at right; l. 1 *recto* + l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . [*m*] . du | Li . rjeḫi . steṅ . du

[B] . . [rt] (st ?)ogs | Li . la . rgya . ḫdra . . .

"... in . . . Up to the Khotan king . . ."

[1] Crossed out: read *la* in the first occurrence.

[2] Crossed out.

[3] Crossed out.

F. *Amacas*,[1] *a "nan-rje-po" and a "dmag-pon"*

The title *a-mo-che*, granted by the Chinese governments to kings of Khotan and other states in Chinese Turkestan, seems to have been first discussed by Chavannes in his *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, pp. 207–8. It was again discussed by Sir Aurel Stein in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 66, 176, 256, and by Chavannes at p. 523. In the same work (pp. 582–3) I gave instances of Chinese *a-ma-cas* in Khotan history, and subsequently (*JRAS*. 1927, pp 121–2) I showed that the title had also at a late date been borne by rulers in the Ladakh region. Prof Sylvain Lévi seems to have been the first (1915, *J A* xi, v, p 191) to derive the term from the Sanskrit *amātya*.

It seems worth while to quote the instances of the use of the title in our documents We have the following :—

23 M Tāgh *b*, i, 0088 (wood ; c 8 × 1 cm. ; complete ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ | 'Am . cha . Śir de . tshan.

"The Amaca Śir-de-tshan."

The term *tshan* seems to have been an honorific (properly a plural), appended to the names of learned or distinguished persons . see *infra*, p 75, and *Innermost Asia*, p. 1084. It is appended to the word *ban-de* in *a*, iii, 0062, and it is similarly employed in the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp 402–3

24. M Tāgh. i, 0021 (wood ; c. 8 5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; complete , nine notches , l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, smudged).

'a . mcha . Si [b]ir . [Tsa] bdad [rdad ?].

"Amaca Si-bir Tsa-bdad (Ci-rdad ?)."

[1] The occurrence of this title was noted by me, *JRAS* 1927, pp. 121–3, with citation of Nos 23–5 below The latter, with Nos 27 and 29, and also a new document from Turfan have now been discussed in a recent paper (*Königsnamen von Khotan* (*A-ma-ca*) . . *SPAW*., pp. 671–6, issued Jan. 1929) by Professor A H. Francke. I am glad to see that Professor Francke, who originally had understood the syllables *a-ma-ca*, *am-cha*, where he had read them, differently, now accepts the reference to the officials called *amacas*. How far I agree with his readings and renderings

25. **M. Tāgh.** ***c*, ii, 0011 (wood ; c. 21 × 3 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather coarse *dbu-can* script).**

[A 1] ༄ | . | : jo . co . Stoṅ . bžre [1] . laḥ . yul . zigs . kyi . mchid . gso[l] . [A 2] ba . thugs . bde . myi . bde . sñun . gsol . žin . mchis . bdag [A 3] cag : | Li . brgyags . | 'A . ma . chaḥ . la . len . du . btaṅ . na [B 1] ma . mchis . na . Ḥo . ni . nas . nas . rgyaḥ . bre . lna . skur . bar . [B 2] gsol |

[A 1–2] "To jo-co Stoṅ-bžer : letter of Yul-gzigs (Local Surveyor)—*the usual compliments, then*—[A 3] Khotan supplies sent for conveying to the 'A-ma-cha not having arrived, it is requested that five Chinese *bre* of barley may be dispatched from Ḥo-ni."

Notes

l. B 1. *Ḥo-ni* is the name of a place (*infra*, pp. 270–1).

l. A 1. *Yul-gzigs* The name occurs in its literal denotation "Local Surveyor" in M.I. xiv, 1 (*Innermost Asia*, p. 1084). In such cases as the present we cannot be certain whether it is so used or is a proper name (cf. English *Smith*, etc , and the case of *Rman-rogs*, p. 290, *infra*), as in *a*, iii, 0070.

l. A 3. *Li-brgyags* : "Khotan supplies" seems to be a technical term (cf. "Manchester goods") here and elsewhere (M. Tāgh. 0574, *a*. i, 0011). *rgya-bre* : cf. *b*, i, 0099

26. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0017 (wood ; c. 17 × 1·5 cm. ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of neat, cursive *dbu-can* script ; remains, lower part, of one line at top *recto*).

[1] [ma . spriṅ] . | ñe . cha . [Li] . rdze . rtse . rjes . [tshe] . . nan . gyi . thud . ma . su . lad . paḥi . . [2] mchi . thob . paḥi . mar . tsh[o] . . de . mchis . śig . | Khar . tshaṅ . śiṅ . mkhar . gyi . [*slad*] [B 1] nas . spriṅ . ba . yan . sta . ḥon . tshol . cig . | 'A . ma . [cag] . Stag . sum . rje . la . -gyes [B 2] [*gsol*] . mo . gchig . daṅ . sta . re . gchig . gyaṅ . žogs śig 11.

will be seen below (except as concerns the Turfan document, in which, I may remark, the phrase *stag-sras-dgyes-gyi-rtse* is a place-name ; see *infra*, pp. 264–5). That any of the persons named are royal I am far from believing.

[1] For *bžer*.

"Let the clotted milk at present required (?) by the high chief the Khotan king, whatever is left uncorrupted (?), and all the oil which can come at once. Prepare also what was afterwards sent from the town of Khar-tshaṅ-śiṅ. For the Amaca Stag-sum-rje leave a present of food (sgyes-gsol-mo = skyes-gsol-mo ?) and a hatchet "

Notes

l 2 *Khar-tshan-śin-mkhar* is clearly the town of Khar-tsan or Khar-tsa-cin discussed *supra* (*JRAS* 1927, pp. 78, 82, 820, 1928, p 80).

l B l. *sta-ḥon* This seems to be the same as *sta-gon*, which occurs in M I. 0028, "make ready."

27. M Tāgh *c*, iv, 0021 (wood, c 14 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right, ll 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script)

[1] ༄ || Glu [1] myi . Ḥpan . chun | [B] 'A . ma . cha . Se[*n*] . ḥdoḥ . mtshal mo . la [2] . . ḥ [stsa]l |

"*Glu-myi* Ḥpan-chun sends for a repast for the Amaca Sen-ḥdo"

Note

l 1 *Glu-myi* = "singer" ?

l. B. *Sen-ḥdo* · Possibly *Seen* (compendious for what ?) is written.

28 M Tāgh. 0483 (paper fragment; c. 27 × 4 cm.; ll. 1 of cursive Brāhmī +1 (mutilated) of large cursive *dbu-can* script; the Brāhmī portion is a note, of later date).

["*Khotanī*" *or Saka language*]

[2] gara vī ce Ysaināguttre ttye rà śta haurāmñai.

༄ | . | Yon (Yod ?) . 'A . ma . chas | | Śin . śan . gyi . rtse . r[j]e laḥ . gsol . baḥ |

"Petition by the Amaca Yon (Yod ?) to the chief in command of Śin-śan."

[1] Possibly *Gru*.

[2] Reading kindly corrected by Professor Sten Konow.

29. M. Tāgh. a, vi, 0057 (wood; c. 10 × 1 × 1 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; notches on B; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive dbu-can script).

[A] 'A . ma . ca . Lha . zuṅ . gre | *tshand . la .* [B] Sna . bo . Li . 'In . dad . ḫbul . ba . nas.

"Barley, offering by the Khotanī 'In-dad of Sna-bo to the Amaca Lha-zun-gre."

Notes

1. B. *Sna-bo*: Probably the place mentioned in the Tibetan chronicle, l. 12, as being in Ḫon (rather distant from Khotan !).

1. A. *tshand*: See *supra*, p. 72. The name *Lha-zun-gre* is a hybrid, the first two syllables *Lha-zun*, being Tibetan and occurring in M I ii, 20*b*, M T *a*, iii, 0070.

It is perhaps no accident that in four of these texts there is reference to gifts of provisions or repasts and so on to the Amacas named, or that they share with the *ban-de* (= Nepalese *bandya*, Chinese *bonze*) the designation *tshan*. It is probable that, at least during the Tibetan domination, they enjoyed civil dignity and esteem rather than power, unless indeed they functioned as judges in the *grwa-tus* (= *pariṣad*, see *supra*, *JRAS*. 1928, p. 567).

Of other Khotan dignitaries we do not hear. But it might be opportune to consider the Tibetan *nan-rje-pos*, *jo-cos*, *żan-blons*, etc., with a view to any chronological inferences that might arise. It might be thought that with the meagre resources of Tibetan nomenclature it would be a difficult matter to establish identifications. The difficulty, indeed, exists; but it is not due to that cause: such good use is made of the resources that in the documents the same names rarely recur. The subject is, however, somewhat complicated, and the names are very numerous: there being no doubt as to the general period to which the Mazar-Tagh documents relate, it will be best to reserve the designations of the Tibetan officials for a separate, and wider, consideration.

We may, however, take note of the presence of one *dmag-pon*, or General, in the city of Khotan and of the conduct of one *nañ-rje-po*.

30. M. Tāgh. 0515 (paper, originally folded in a long slip in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28·5 × 9 cm.; ll. 7 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, scrawled and in places faint, + 1 of more ordinary cursive *dbu-can*).

[A 1] H̱byun |[1] ༄ | : | H̱[phan] | gz[i]gs . la | | H̱phan rya dan Ña b[rts]an [gyi] . gso[l] . baẖ | sñun [2] ba slar · ẖbre[dan] . mi . ẖbred . sñ[u]n : gs[o]l | żin . m[chis] || de . ltar so la bthus [pa ẖi] . tshe[2] . -ṅ : bdag : chag [3] kyan so la bthus pa . yan . bdag . chag . [su]g : las . gyis . bskal nas | so : ka ma . [ẖ]dzin t[e] || mo · [rg]aṅ [4] [*g-oẖ*] na : bu . [mchi]s . paẖi tsh[e] | bdag : chag . gis : chi pyin du ẖtshal żin · m[chi]s . | gyis . thugs : m[y]i . chad du gslo[3] [5] do . [chig *na* . . *mo* .] sna . tsham ni : pyun *ż*in . mchis || ẖdi na yan | ra . san rje : dan : pur ba lastsogs pa . [yan] [6] . ma . . . . . nas . sman . [b]u . sman ẖgaẖ yan . ma : skur : żin : [m]chisna : de[*r* : *stsas* . *thugs*] myi [7] chad · par . gsol | sñun . yan . myur du gdans . pai gsol |

[*Inverted*] ༄ | | H̱phan . gzi[g]s | la | | H̱phan · rgyaẖi . gsol baẖ ||

[B] [1] H̱phan zigs | la || H̱phan : la : rya : dan. | Ña . brtsan gyis sprin

[2] [*Inverted, in a different hand*] . . . [*ra* . *san* . -*so*] . gslo[3] . baẖi [*sts*]u [*żu*]s dan | | dmag . pon . kyi . gdan . cha . H̱u ten du bab paẖi . than yige . dpyeẖ . gsar |

"Be it so!" (*or* "May come", *an endorsement*).

[1–2] "To H̱phan-gzigs petition of H̱phan-rya and Ña-brtsan. We beg to inquire whether your health has recovered or not.

[1] An endorsement in a different hand below the line.

[2] Added below the line

[3] Compendious for *gsol*.

[2–5] "At the time when *you* joined the soldiery, we too joined the soldiery, and we, through the fate of our works (?) did not take to soldiering. Our aged mother . ., at the time when we her children came, we wish that she come [and join us]. So we beg not to disappoint her. At the present moment . . mother has just arrived. [5–7] Here also the chief *ra-saṅ* and the *pur-bas* and so forth. . . . Owing to . . we are not sending any little medicines. We beg you not to decide . . . We pray that you may quickly recover your health."

"To H̱phan-gzigs: petition of H̱phan-rgya."

[B 1] "To H̱phan-gzigs. sent by H̱phan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan."

[B 2—*a different hand*] "Request in a petition letter from the soldiers [*H̱phan-la-rya and Ña-brtsan*] and authorization by the General's *dīvān* established in H̱u-ten—a new copy."

Notes

l. 1. *ẖbyuṅ*. This is, no doubt, the General's endorsement.

l. 2. *ẖbred*: For *ẖbreld* ?

so-la-bthus: "Be called up for military service." The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 004.

l. 3. *bskal-nas*: Translation doubtful

so-ka-ma-ẖdzin. = °*kha-ma*-°. cf. *so-khaẖ-zun*, *a*, i, 0012

l. 4. *chi-pyin-du-ẖtshal . . . gyis*: For *mchi-phyin* ?

thugs-myi-chad-par-gsol: The phrase recurs in M. Tagh. *a*, iv, 00123.

l. 5. *ra-san*: See *supra*, p. 53–4.

pur-ba: No doubt, some military designation

l. 6. *sts-as*: Reading and sense not clear.

l. B 2 This is a note by some subordinate of the General.

31. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0062 (paper; fol. no. 46, complete; ll. 5 *recto* of rather square, black *dbu-can* script, clear; ll. 4 *verso* + top of l. 5 of ordinary, rather square, cursive *dbu-can*, a different hand from *recto*).

[A 1] ༄ | | Naṅ . rje : po . Btshan . to . re : ma : rgyon :

smyon . ba | | srın . rgyon . rgun . ma [A 2] myi . zad . pa . | śı ḫbvıs paḫ | | dgu . śı . baḫ · rgyon . ma [A 3] rgun . ḫam (btam ?) mdaḫ tshags : paḫo . rtol . po . che . chuṅ [A 4] ma brgyos nas | | Śıṅ . śan . du . sbyugs

[A 5] | | jo . cho . Khrı . rje . ḫpans. | la . mkhar

[B 1] | | cho bo Ḫan . mdzes . la | | | | Mkhar . slebs kyı mchıd gsol . baḫ . [B 2] | : thugs . bde . myi . bde mchıd yı ge las . sñun . gsol żın . mchıs na . bkaḫ stsal bar [B 3] *mchıd* yı . ge . ḫdı . gsol . slan . chad . rjes . ḫbans thugs bde żın . sñun rgya . ḫo . myı . rgyal : pra [B 4] mchıs | | Ḫu . ten . pyogs na . bkaḫ mchid . jı gdaḫ baḫ . nı so paḫs . la [1] . la . gsan . paḫ . tsham . . . .

[A] "The Home-Minister Btshan-to-re is an insane mother-ravisher, sister-ravisher, an insatiate wine-bibber, a death-child, a nine-death-man, in fornication and wine a gourd and a sieve Having ravished the mothers of all who came in his way, great and small, he should be expelled to Śin-śan"

"To my lord Khri-rje-ḫpans, the city (*or* Prince Ḫpans ?)."

[B] "To the chief Ḫan-mdzes: letter petition of Mkhar-slebs—*then after the usual compliments*: This letter is to beg the dispatch of orders for the rest *I trust* that my lord and his servants (*or* subjects) are happy and in good health, free from illness What is the talk in the Ḫu-ten quarter may be heard from (*or* [told] privately by ?) the soldier."

Notes

This curious document presents considerable difficulties in translation Not only is the subject-matter *recto* one likely to lead to obscure expressions, but it is also not quite clear from the ductus that the words in the vertical line really

[1] Crossed out. Is *Lha* intended ?

follow l. 5: the latter is, however, from the sense highly probable. We have in any case an "anonymous letter" to an official, whether from some one who signs as "the city" or not, and the charges which it lays against the Home-Minister are correspondingly serious He is no doubt residing in Khotan, and the letter is written to an official there

The *verso* is probably an inquiry made on behalf of the addressee of the *recto*, in which case it shows a good official discretion. Alternately the *recto* might be the reply to the inquiry *verso*. but this is in itself less probable, and, further, the letter is not addressed to the writer of the *verso*. The letter is, no doubt, sent from Khotan to Śiṅ-śan.

[A] *ma-rgyon-smyon-ba*: By "mother" is perhaps meant "[other people's] wives"; similarly as concerns "sisters".

śi-ḫbyis-paḫ. The expression "as to death, a child" may denote irresponsible killing. Or is it "a child of death"?

mdaḫ-tshags-pa: *mdaḫ-lpags* means "gourd" and *tshags* = "sieve"; perhaps this is a "portmanteau" expression.

rtol-po-che-chun. I have rendered this as meaning "whoever appears (comes in his way), great or small".

[B] *slan-chad*: "For the rest"; or "in future"?

bkaḫ-mchid: "Talk" or "news". so pp. 256–7 *infra*.

II. Śin-śan

Śin-śan occurs as a place-name in over thirty documents from Mazār-Tāgh, a place on the Khotan river, about 100 miles north of Khotan, where Sir Aurel Stein discovered and excavated a Tibetan fort and other ruins. The name is hardly to be found in documents from other places, and I have already given expression (in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1086) to the view that Śin-śan was the proper name of the settlement at Mazār-Tāgh itself. That the fact is so appears also from the circumstance that many of the documents are letters apparently *addressed* to Śiṅ-śan; and this impression will be enhanced by a perusal of those which we will proceed to consider.

The name *Śin-śan*, which appears to mean "Wood-mountain" (Chinese *shan*, as in *Pha-śan*, etc), can never have been appropriate to the low barren hill on which rose the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh. It is perhaps, therefore, a corruption of some native name, and we may ask whether it is possibly the *Śen-ża* of the *Gośṛṅga-Vyākaraṇa*, denoting "the northern district *Śen-ża*, protected by an image *Śen-ża*, which would arise from the nether world" (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 584).

Since the above lines were written a definite confirmation of this suggestion has come to light. The Brāhmī endorsement of the document No. 28, p 74 *supra*, addressed to a chief in command at Śin-śan, has been read by Professor Sten Konow, who has kindly furnished me with the following possible translation

"On the hill which (*or* who) is Ysaināgotra, to him now to be given."

It is probable that the writer has by *Ysaināgotra* rendered into his Iranian speech the native name *Śen-za*, and perhaps he had some justification, since, as we have seen (*JRAS*. 1928, p. 832), the syllable *za*, whether actually Iranian (Sogdian ?) or not, was employed in Chinese Turkestan with precisely the sense of *gotra*: thus *Śen-za* = *Ysainā* (i e. *Senā*)-*gotra*. Moreover, by adding the word "hill" (*gara*) he confirms our understanding of the second syllable in Śin-śan as the Chinese *shan*, a "hill". The Tibetan *Śin-śan* represents, therefore, an accommodation to their speech of **Śen-(za-)śan*, a good instance of those etymologizing tendencies which seem to have specially influenced the folk-lore of Khotan (see *infra*, p. 259, and *Asia Major*, ii, pp 258–9, 262–3).

32 H. 2 (wood, c. 12·5 × 1 × 2 cm.; cut away and broken—without loss ?—at right; hole for string at left; two slight notes in C; ll. 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 of poor cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❧ | : | khram . ḥdi . la . mcis . pa . daṅ . mar
[B 1] . -i . -[ph]o . ḥi . [ṅo] | Śi[n . śa]n . gyi . [. .]

[B 2] [n]as . | khal . ñis . b[rgy]aẖ . | [*bre . bži*] . . .
[C] Li . Bu (Gu ?) . ẖdug . la | gtad . de | Śi[ṅ]
[D 1] śan . du . ẖtsal . bar . bgyis . nas
[D 2] kham . [*sladu*] . yaṅ . Bu . ẖdug . s[ts]ald |

"The indent has come here, and at the beginning of . . . . the barley of . . . Śin-śan, two hundred loads and and four *bre*, consigned to the Khotanī Bu-ẖdug, were caused to be sent to Śin-śan: apricots also were afterwards sent to Bu-ẖdug."

Notes

l. A 1. *khram*: See *supra*, p. 65.

l. A 2. *kham*: This might be erroneous for *khram*.

33. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0040 (wood; 23 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole with string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, rather faint).

[1] ❁ | | H̱u . ten . gyi . rtsis . sa . nas . | | Śin . śan . gyi . mnan . la s[pr]ins . pa [2] ñin . žag . gchig . la . lna . chod . du . btanste | ẖphrin . byan . ẖdi . rıns . la . ko . ches . pa (?) [B 1] dam . du . zuṅ . la | ẖphrin . byan . dusu . ma . phyind . taṃ . khyams . par . gyurd . naẖ [B 2] g[i]s . nons . pa . | chad . pas . khrims . bžin . du . gcad . do (de ?) | | H̱u . ten . nas . tses

"From the place of the census of H̱u-ten: Message to the authorities of Śiṅ-śan having been dispatched in one day five times (at the fifth hour ? in five stages ?), this message token, urgent and very important, is to be taken at once. If the message token does not arrive in time, or if any offend by going astray, they are to be punished according to law. From H̱u-ten, date. . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *rtsis*: Mentions of the "censuses" or "reckonings", which perhaps related to both persons and properties, are not infrequent in the Tibetan chronicle (e.g. ll. 8, 22, 75, etc.) or in

the documents. We have had before (*JRAS*. 1927, p. 81; 1928, p. 573) a *rtsis-mgo* "head, or total, of census", and this also recurs in M.I xxviii, 2, and in that chronicle (l. 52).

The *Gośṛnga-vyākaraṇa* has (fol. 349*b*, 7) *yul-gyi-rtsis-mgo* "the country's census-total".

l. A 2. *ko-ches-pa* · = *go-ches-pa* "of great consideration"?

l. B 1 *dam-du*. "At the fixed time" or "promptly", i.e without loss of time at the relays. The phrase is found in M.T *a*, v, 007, with *myel-tse-dgu*, "9 watches," and with *ñin-tshod mtshan-tshod* "day-time or night-time" in M.T 0334 and *c*, iii, 0025 (*infra*, pp. 83, 85, 268), and we had *dam-żag-tu* "on a fixed day" in *JRAS* 1927, pp. 69, 838, 844, and *ñin-dam-du* is found in M Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 below.

34. M Tāgh *a*, iii, 001 (wood; 15 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[1] ༄ | . | Li H̱dzas dan . | Śir . ẖde . gñis : | | H̱u . then . du bdagi . dgun [2] cha . len . du btan . ba . las | | gchig . ni slar mchis . | [B 1] gchig . ni . ma . mchis | | dcẖi . tsal ma ni | [par] śa . ris . ma [B 2] lastsogspa . sna mas [ẖtshald] |

[1] "Two Khotanīs, H̱dzas and Śir-ẖde, having been dispatched to H̱u-then to fetch my winter things, [2–B 1] one returned one has not come. [B 1–2] His rations, *par-śa-ris-ma*, etcetera, were sent before."

Note

The expression *par-śa-ris-ma* is of unknown meaning; it recurs twice, in the form *par-sa-re-śi-ma*, in another wooden document (M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0056)

35. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0034 (wood, 17 × 2 5 cm.; complete, but cut away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 3 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script, rather, in B, l. 2, very, faint)

[1] Spe . stañ . dañ | | Mdo . brtsan . bsaṃ . bor . gyis | | Śiñ . śan [2] ẖphar . du . | yos . bu : loẖi . dbyar . sla : tha : chuns | tshes : ñi . śu . gñis [3] *Ḫu* : then . nas . spriñ . ste | so . ẖphar . ẖdi . riñs . kyis : | ñin | [B 1] dam : du . zuñ . la : | dpañ . źag : du | tshug[s] . śig · | phyis . sam : phar . khyaṃ[s] [B 2] śin [1] | phar . ma . skye[l] . bskyal | chad . pa (pha ?) . cher (chad ?) . gcado (gcod) : | |

[1–3] " By Spe-stan and Mdo-brtsan, after taking counsel, dispatched from Ḫu-then on the twenty-second day of the last summer month of the Hare year for conveyance to reach Śiñ-śan. [3] This soldier-missive is to be taken immediately on the fixed day, and delivered on a witnessed (*dpan* ?) date. [3–B 2] In case of lateness or wandering astray and not providing convoy for the missive severe punishment is to be imposed."

Notes

l. A 1. *Śin-śan-phar-du* : This might perhaps be rendered " to beyond Śin-śan ".

l. A 3. *so-ẖphar* : The phrase recurs M.T. *b*, ii, 0052. Possibly it means " a soldier-pass ".

ñin-dam-du-zun-la : See *supra*, p. 82.

l. B 2. *skyel-bskyal* : This is the full phrase for " providing mountain convoy " ; *ri-skyel* recurs *infra*, pp. 254, 263, also in other documents, e.g. *a*, ii, 0085, Khad. 032.

36. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0016 (wood ; 23 × 1·5 × ·5 cm. ; complete ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 on side + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* rather faint).

[1] ༄ | | Ho . toñ . Gyu . mo . yan . chad . gi . stag . so . pa . bźugs . pa . la | | Gliñ . riñs . gi . so . paẖi [2] mchid . gsol . paẖ . bdag . cag . tshugs . pon . dan . ẖog . pon . gñis . kaẖ . ri . zug . pas ([B] nañ . *rje* . [po] . bl[o]n . Stañ . legs . gi : źa . sñar . gs[o]l . baẖ s gs) [C 1] ẖtshal . brgyags . bar . chad . du . gyur . źiñ . mchis . na . sñar . gtan . par . thugs .

[1] *ste* ? *dañ* ?

rje . jir [C 2] gzigs . Dru . gu . cor . tu . mamchis . na . byaṅ . bu . ḫdi . Śin . śan . du . gtan . par . gsol | |

[1] "To the tiger soldiers stationed as far up as Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, letter petition of the Glin-rins soldiers. We, a *tshugs-pon* (sergeant) and a *ḫog-pon* (corporal), having mountain sickness (*ri-zug-pa*) [1] (petition in the presence of the Home-Minister Council Stan-legs), [1] having run short of food and provisions, have the kindness to send them soon (*snar* ?). If there is none in the Dru-gu *cor*, pray send this tablet to Śiṅ-śan"

Notes

The missive duly reached Śin-śan, where it was unearthed by Sir Aurel Stein

Concerning Ho-ton Gyu-mo and Glin-rins see below (pp 90 sqq , 286–8). It will be observed that the former was clearly on the route from Glin-rins, which was in Tibet, to Śin-śan, and it would appear to be connected with the Dru-gu *cor*, which was mentioned *supra* (*JRAS* 1927, p 68) and will be the subject of further observations later.

l. A 2 *ri-zug* occurs frequently (see pp 280–1 *infra*).

l C 2. *byan-bu* "little tablet" evidently denotes the wooden tablet itself , cf *phrin-byan*, *so-byan* "soldier-tablet" (M.I xiv, 0019, 005. 126, 134), p 284 *infra*, and *JRAS*. 1927, p. 826 ; *infra*, p. 87 We have also *so-ris*(*res*)-*byan* "soldier-relay-tablet" in M Tāgh *a*, ii, 0017

37. M Tāgh *c*, iii, 0025 (wooden stick, four-sided, rather curved , c. 19·5 × 1 × 1 cm. ; l. 1 on each face, ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script)

[A] ༄ | Par . ban man chad . dan | Drugu ḫjor : man : chad : gyi · so pa [B] la sprin no ḫpar · ma ḫdi : ma : kyams : par . Śin | śan du · thugs [2] [C] bag . du le · lo :

[1] This line B seems to be part of a previously inscribed letter, which was erased or cut away when the present missive was inscribed

[2] *s* below line.

tsa (ci ?) : kyi : bar : ton · śig : ñin : tshod : mtshan : tshod [D] dam : du : zun : śig : su : le : lo : bkyid : pa : chadu : chod : par : gcado.

[A–B] "Sent to the soldiers as far down as Par-baṅ and as far down as Dru-gu *ḥjor*. [B–C] Dispatch this missive, without straying, to Śin-śan, taking care and avoiding remissness [C–D] Day-time or night-time, it must be taken over immediately. Whoso shows remissness is to be punished."

Notes

A *Par-ban*. Concerning this place see *infra*, pp. 274–6. *Drugu-ḥjor* · See *supra*, p 56.

B. *ḥpar-ma* · See *supra*, *JRAS* 1928, p. 581.

D. *dam-du-zun*. See *supra*, pp. 82–3.

38. M. Tāgh *a*, iv, 005 (wood, c. 18·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ༄ | . | bdag nand . pa | Rdze | sa (mi ?) | | Śiṅ . śan . man . cad . kyi . | so . ḥdzu [A 2] ñul : | : | ḥtsal . ba . [ci] . [*ste*] . ẓig | | Żugs . nam . gyi . ltons . na[*s*] [B 1] rgun . rins . su . mcis . phas | | rad . gos . kyaṅ . myi . ḥbyord . jin [B 2] mcis . [nam] . ẓig | | dguṅ . sla . gñi[s] . śid . lan. gchig[*i*] . | sug [B 3] las | gyi . gñ[erd] . ḥk[*ums*] . śiṅ . | ḥkor . la . mchi . [ba : tsa]m.

39. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 007 (wood; c. 20 × 1·5 cm.; complete; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* (inverted) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | : | stsald . ḥtsal . gyiḥi | ḥtsal . ma . yen . [*ch*]uṅ . bam (bar ?) . du . sbyor . la | bdagi : ḥtsla [1] [B] ḥphrin . byaṅ . ḥdi . . Caṅ . laṅ . tse . yan . cad . kyi . so . pas [2] . riṅs . par . Śiṅ . śan |

[1] Compendious for *ḥtsal*.
[2] *pas* below line.

These two seem to belong together, and may be translated in one context, a proceeding which in any case seems harmless.

[005] " We humble persons, Rdze-sa(mi) (?), being sent out upon espionage, professing to be soldiers (*so-ḥdzu* ?), of (the country) down to Śin-śan, have come in a long course (*rgun* = *rgyun* ?) from the top of the Žugs-nam Not even travelling clothes are available By the time of our arrival we have accomplished a task of one year less (? *śid*) two months. While on our return—

[007] " We beg (*ḥtsal* ?) to be provided in ample or small quantity (*bam* ?) with the rations which should have been sent. This message tablet [should be forwarded] quickly by the soldiers as far up as Can-lan-tse to Śin-śan "

Notes

005, A 2 *Žugs-nam-gyi-ltons*: This phrase, which recurs p 258 below, is, no doubt, the same as the *Žugs-dams* of the Khotan chronicle, on whichever side may lie the easy confusion of *n* and *d* (ན and ད). From the passage quoted in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, it is clear that the name belonged to some elevated plain near Tola in Me-skar; and, since the district of Me-skar lay between Khotan and Tshal-byi, which latter included Cer-chen and its hinterland (*JRAS.* 1928, pp 557, 561), we must look for Me-skar and Tola, with its *Žugs-dam* (or *nam*), somewhere in the mountains between Polu and Cer-chen

005, A 2. *ñul*: A " spy "; cf. p. 258, M I. vii, 55, xiv, 0012

B 1. *rad-gos*: On *rad* see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, p 820; 1928, p. 576. *Rad-gos* " travelling costume " occurs in the document published by the Oslo Institute (p 68, n 2 *supra*).

B 2. *śid*: Perhaps we should read *śin*, " given two months, a year "; in M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 007. we have *ñin-žin* " in the day-time ".

B 3. *gñer-ẖkums*: See *supra*, *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 810, 838, 842.

ẖkor: = *ẖkhor*.

007, A. *ẖtsal*: *If correctly read, this seems to be an* equivalent of *ẖtshal*, as not infrequently.

B. *ẖphrin-byan*: "Message-tablet"; see *supra*, p. 84.

Caṅ-lan-tse: A place; see *infra*, p. 253. Clearly it must have been on the way to Śin-śan.

40. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 0025 (wood; 17 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | blon . Mtsho . bzan . gis | | Rid . Khrom . [2] ma . la . sprin . ño . || [B 1] lan . spriṅ . na . ma . mjald . pa . lta . ẑig . ste . slar . yaṅ . ma . mchi[s] . | da : Śin . śan [B 2] ẖtshal . kyis . ẖphrin . byan . gis . mj[o]ld . ma . thag.

[1] "By Councillor Mtsho-bzan sent to Rid Khrom-[r]ma [B 1] If an answer (*lan* = *lan* ?) has been sent, it has not arrived, it seems. later also it has not come. [B 1–2] So report to Śin-śan immediately upon the receipt of [this] missive."

Note

l. B 2. *ẖphrin-byan*: See *supra*, p. 84.

41. M. Tāgh *c*, iv, 0039 (wood; c. 8 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | Śin-śan . mkhar . bu . [so]ẖi [2] las | skos | kyi . byan . bu.

"Ticket of work-levy of soldier in the lesser fort (town) of Śin-śan."

Note

l. 1. *mkhar-bu*: The "lesser fort" or town at Śiṅ-śan is perhaps named in antithesis to the larger fort on the hill.

42. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0065 (paper, fol. 13 of vol.; c. 27·5 × 12 cm.; a fragment; ll. 8 of ordinary, rather large, *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ❦ | : | nan . rje . po . Śin śan . gyi . rtse . . . snan . Khri . ma . lod . | gdun . rus . grag . . btson (n ?) . . . [2] ra . myi . ra . | żon . na . rta . chig . ri . b[ahi] . . . s . pa . la | | Klu . gzigs kyi . m[chi]d . gs[o]l . [3] bah | | Nan . rje po hphrul . dan . m[tsh]uns . pas . | thugs . dpag . mdzad de . g-yra [1] . zigs . [4] stsald . pa . sug . par . mchis . te . [gtan] . rag htsal . || nan . . -o . [5] . . śan . gyi . stsan ś[a]gs . chod pahi . [tshe] . . . -o . . . l . hg . . [6] . . b . tu . gchags . | | bdag . [na]n *pa* . [mo] . thog . na . spyan zigs . . . [7] . hi . rigs na . | kho . ru . chu . . . . [8] . . . phyed . bskur . żi . .

[1-3] "To the [wife of the] Home Minister, the chief [in command] of Śin-śan, [the lady] Khri-ma-lod, of famous lineage (*here a mutilated phrase containing the expression* when riding, one horse): letter-petition of Klu-zigs. [3-4] The Home Minister, equal to a theophany, having been so considerate as to send a glance (*zigs*) up here and (the message) having come to hand, I beg to tender thanks. [4-6] The Home Minister, when settling the measure (dispute, *śugs ?*) of the (*Śin*)-śan crop is quite fitting (*rab-tu-gchags ?*). [6-8] It being appropriate that your humble servant, if able, should *send* a present, *I* am sending there half a . . ."

Notes

l. 1 *Khri-ma-lod* This name being, like most others ending in *-lod*, feminine—it occurs, in fact, in the Tibetan chronicle as the name of a princess—it is probable that the gap in the document contained the statement that the lady in question was the wife or mother of the Śin-śan *rtse-rje* "chief in command" and *nan-rje-po* "Home Minister".

l. 2. . . . *ra-myi-ra* : "In . . place or men's place."

l. 6. *spyan-zigs* : "A present," as on p. 258 *infra.* The present is, no doubt, the customary *upāyana.*

43. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0097 (paper, fol. no. 36 ; c. 20·5 × 5 cm. ;

[1] Compendious for *g-yar.*

fragmentary at right; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ | . | rtahi . lohi | dbyar . sla . hbriṅ . pohı . ṅo . la || Śiṅ . śan . gyi . mkhar . pa . daṅ . | . . . [2] rem (res ?) . gyi . htshal . ma || stsan . nas . khal | brgya . bžı . bcu . stsal | | Śiṅ . śan . . . [3] mṅan . | dbrad . Chas . slebs | la | stsan . hdren | Ha-ža . Gyu . brtsan gyis | | hphu[*l*]. . .

"In the middle Summer month of the Horse year. Rations of the men in the fort and *soldier relays* (*so-res* ?) of Śin-śan. From the crop one hundred and forty loads have been sent. *The crop of* Śın-śan ıs complete . . . . . . To *dbrad* Chas slebs offered by the Ha-ža Gyu-brtsan, conveyor of the crop."

Notes

l. 2. *so-res*: "Relay of soldiers" recurs p. 258 *infra* and not ınfrequently elsewhere (*a*, ii, 0054; *a*, ıi, 0017; *b*, i, 0019; and p. 84 *supra*).

l. 3. *mnan*: See *supra*, *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 67, 69, 838.
dbrad: See *supra*, p. 61.

44. M. Tāgh. 0501 (paper fragment, ırregular; c. 11 × 6 cm.; ll. 6 of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* writıng).

[1] . . *r*ta(?) . g*ı* . lo . ston . | *Śın* . śan . gyi . mkhar . snon . du. . . . [2] . . . ñ[ı] . śu . la . Ś[i]ṅ . śan . du . lta[ṅ] . sags (mags) . G-yu . brtsan . m . . . . [3] . . . . brgyad . than . du . stsol . l[o] . ches . byuṅ . nas . | s-o[*n*] . . . . [4] . . . pa . dan . slar . Hu . ten . du . mchi . ba . śul . žag . . . . [5] . . . -[so]gs . G-yu . b*rtsan* . daṅ rtse . rje . lan . sa . d-o . . . . [6] . . . d . n[ı] . cha(u ?) . ma . chad[u] . p . . .

[1] ". . . autumn of the Horse year(?). The town (fort) of Śin-śan at first . . . [3] . . . on the 20 . . . send to Śiṅ-śan the bale-man (*ltan-sags* ?) G-yu-btsan . . . to the measure of eıght"—with reference to this (order) . . . [4] . . . and coming back to Hu-ten, days on the road . . . [bale-]man G-yu-brtsan and the Chief in command . . . . [6] . . . not to punish . . . ."

Notes

l 2. *ltan-sags*. Apparently equivalent to *ltan-sogs* of M.I. xxviii, 002, l 6 (= *JRAS* 1928, p. 582): or should we so read? The sense is "bale-man" or "bale-collector" The person G-yu-brtsan was in the previous document (*b*, i, 0097) *stsan-ḥdren* "conveyor of crop" *Ltan-rogs* = "bale-man".

l. 3 *ches-byun-nas* On this phrase see *JRAS* 1927, pp. 79 and 559. Cf. *ces-byun-bah*, p 66 *supra*

From these references to Śin-śan it is clear that the place must have been the military headquarters of the whole Khotan region Naturally it was in constant communication with the city of Khotan itself and other places in the area. But the documents suffice to show that it was a centre of communications from regions further afield, from Tibet and from the more easterly parts of Chinese Turkestan, and was a terminal point of Tibetan occupation in the west

The place possessed the fort excavated by Sir Aurel Stein and also, apparently, a minor fort or town (*mkhar-bu*) It had a *rtse-rje* "head official", who was a *nan-rje-po* "Home Minister". It controlled, as we shall see, the supplies of numerous military posts, and also dominated the city of Khotan, which remained, however, under the administration of its native king.

III Gyu-mo, Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo, Ho-se Gyu-mo

For already cited references to a place named *Ḥo-toṅ Gyu-mo*, with variants *'O-ton Sgo-mo* and *Ho-ton Gyu-mo*, see *supra*, pp. 51, 55.

From one of those references it appears, as we have seen, that the place lay between Gliṅ-rins, in Tibet, and Śin-śan, or Mazār-Tāgh. This serves to exclude any identification with either Ak-su, which had also a Chinese name *Ku-mo* (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p 835), or the oasis of Guma, between Khotan and Karghalik. There remain

two[1] possibilities, namely, (1) Cer-cen, which was also during a long period known as *Tsu-mo* or *Chü-mo* (*Serindia*, p. 297), and (2) a place on the Cer-cen river recorded with the name *Kiumo* in a (large) map in the *Atlas* accompanying the *Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie* of Dutreuil de Rhins, but otherwise apparently not known. We may dwell briefly upon the matter.

In the name *Ḫo-ton Gyu-mo* it seems likely that the phrase *Ḫo-ton* is Chinese and means " east of the river ". The likelihood is fortified by the fact that the two remaining syllables *Gyu-mo* are separately used (see *infra*, p. 281) for the same, or an adjacent, place; and it becomes a certainty in case the reading *Ḫo-se Gyu-mo* in pp 268–9 is correct, since that would correspondingly denote a Gyu-mo " west of the river "; and it would also become probable that the *Ho-se* which we have previously encountered (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 577–8) refers not to a remote Ho-se in China, but to this very place in the Nob region. If Kiumo really existed on the Cer-cen river, it would very probably be the place indicated, and it would mark the point where, as we know (Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, 298–9, 1331), the route from Mīrān (Little Nob) to Khotan passed north of the Cer-cen river. If not, then the probabilities are in favour of Cer-cen.

It is curious that, while the Mīrān documents never refer to Khotan or Śin-śan, those from Mazār-Tāgh are equally silent concerning Nob, Cer-cen, and Ka-dag, and this despite the large numbers (several hundreds) in both cases and despite the fact that the officers in Khotan and Mazār-Tāgh at least were in regular communication with Tibet. This demands a general explanation, which may partly be one of date and partly lie in the circumstance that the regards of the Tibetans in Mīrān were turned chiefly in the eastern direction, towards Śa-cu. The matter may be reconsidered later; but it is

[1] It seems unnecessary to bring in the *Yü-mi* or *Chü-mi*, applied by the Chinese to an old kingdom lying between the Chira and Kenya rivers (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 467).

at any rate implied that the regular communications between Mazār-Tāgh and Tibet passed at the period in question by way either of Polu (said to be now impassable for baggage animals) or by the valley of the Cer-cen river.

45. M. Tāgh. 0050 (paper fragment; c. 14 × 15 cm.; ll. 11 *recto* of good, cursive, black *dbu-can* script + ll. 9 *verso* of rather coarse, ordinary *dbu-can*—different matter, but the text, which has lost little at the left, makes it probable that in the *recto* little is missing on the right).

[1] . . r Dron . myi Lha gon . Nad . gos . Btsan legs | Dgra . byun [2] . na Yul . ḫphan . Rtses . mthoṅ . Phug . ḫdros legs | | [3] . s Brtsan zigs | Ḫphrul . gyi . rtse na . Kol . kol . Ña rtsan . [4] . . Ryuṅ . g[o]n . Rya (Nyo ?) skor . | 'An tse na . Rhvul po . Khu . gon . Rgyal slebs . [5] . . d . na . G[s]as . zigs Zla . rma . byeḫu : Ḫbu śan . na . G-yu . l . . [6] . . . ṅ . Lad . rtsu | Stag sras na Tses . zigs . Lha mñen . Ja l . . [7] . dus . na Rman [s]lebs Żan . rmun . Yul . tsan | Ḫjag . ma . gu[r] . [8] . . san *Dgra* . mthon . Skyin . tsud | Stag . sgugs . na Lin [9] . . phan . | Mdoṅ . rtse . na . Phaṅs legs Lha . brtsan . | Jan . lan . . . [10] . . . legs | Ho . ton . Gyu . mo . na Byi bu . Hul tse | Rtse -u . cag . na . [11] . . . s . gyi . rtse . na . Myes . mton | Bye . ri . snan . dan . rtse na . Legs gsas.

" . . Dron-myi Lha-goṅ, Nad-gos, Btsan-legs.

" In Dgra-byun . . . Yul-ḫphan, Rtses-mthon, Phug-Dros-legs . . . Brtsan-zigs

" In Ḫphrul-gyi-rtse Kol-kol, Ña-rtsan . Ryuṅ-goṅ, Rya-skor.

" In 'An-tse Rhvul-po Khu-gon, Rgyal-slebs . . .

" In . . . d Gsas-zigs, Zla-rma-byeḫu.

" In Ḫbu-śaṅ Gyu-l . . . n, Lad-rtsu.

" In Stag-sras Tses-zigs, Lha-mñen, Ja-l . . .

" In *Stag-ḫdus* Rman-slebs, Żan-rmun, Yul-tsan.

" In Ḫjag-ma-gu . . . san, Dgra-mthon, Skyin-tsud.

" In Stag-sgugs Liṅ . . . . . . phan.

"In Mdoṅ-rtse Phans-legs, Lha-brtsan.
"In Jaṅ-laṅ-*rtse* . . . . legs.
"In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo Byi-bu, Hul-tse.
"In Rtse--u-cag . . .
"In . . . -s-gyi-rtse Myes-mton.
"In Bye-ri-snan-daṅ-rtse Legs-gsas."

Notes

Concerning the places with names ending in *rtse*, viz. 'An-tse, Bye-ri-snaṅ-daṅ-rtse, Jan-lan-rtse, Mdoṅ-rtse, Ḫphrul-gyi-rtse, Stag-ḫdus-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sgugs-*kyi-rtse*, Stag-sras-kyi-rtse, see below (pp. 251 sqq), where several of them recur. Concerning Dgra-byun(-*gi-rtse* ?), Ḫbu-śan, Ḫjag-ma-gu, Rtse--u-cag, see pp 269–70, 282 *infra*.

The discrimination of the personal names is not in all cases certain; but for the most part we have sufficient analogies among those occurring in other documents. In l. 6 the expression *rhvul-po* (*rhul-po*) has been taken as a prefix (class or clan name) on the ground of its form (cf. *Khyun-po*, noticed above, *JRAS*. 1927 p. 812) and of its occurrence in M T 0509, 0510.

It may be noted that in a case like the present, where a rather well-written official document shows on the reverse a private letter, especially if the latter is coarsely inscribed, the priority of the former is indubitable.

46. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0078 (wood; c. 22·5 × 2 5 cm.; complete, hole for string at right, ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly rubbed away).

[1] | | Ho . to*n* . Gyu . mo . na | Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | mñald . paḫi . khri . thag . bar . ches . | byi . n . . . [2] Li . . -s : ño . na | Skyi . stod . gyi . sde . dnul . Klu . bzan . ḫog . phon . . .

"In Ho-toṅ Gyu-mo two Tibetans, two Khotanīs (chief bedstead *thag-bar* . . . ?).

"In . . s-ño, the *dnul* Klu-bzaṅ of the Upper Skyi regiment, the corporal . . ."

Notes

l 1 *mñald* . . . This phrase perhaps refers to conveyance of the sick. But we hear elsewhere of a *mñal-pahi-sde* (*b*, i, 0075, *c*, iii, 0017, 0078), perhaps the medical contingent.

l 2. *dnul*: Apparently not found elsewhere as a personal designation. Since *dnul* = "money", it might mean "cashier".

Skyi. On this region see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 816.

47 M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0053 (wood; c 15·5 × 2 cm.; complete, hole for string at right, ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ | | Ho . ton . Gyu . mo . hi . blugs (*for* rgyags ?) ||

[B 1] Ha . ža r . gy[i] . mag . la . ri . zugi . brgyags . hbag

[B 2] gu yan . med . tho

"Supplies for Ho-ton Gyu-mo. For the army in the Ha-ža [country] there is not even a moderate amount of *ri-zug* ('mountain-sickness' ?) supplies."

Note

B 1. *ri-zug-brgyags*. See p. 281. this phrase recurs *a*, ii, 0065, iii, 0040, *b*, i, 0059 and 0177, *c*, iii, 0030.

48. H. 4 (wood, c 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l 1 of ordinary, rather clumsy, cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | | Ho . ton . Gyu . mor . mchi |

"Going to Ho-ton Gyu-mo"

49 M Tāgh. *b*, i, 0066 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; fragmentary, the top part lost; l 1 *recto* + the top of l. 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . htshal . brgyags . dag . ma . thond . pas | rab . htu t[o] | | dah . cuṅ . yan . Ho . ton . sgo . [c]al[d].[1]

[B] *Illegible.*

"Food supplies not having been issued, very . . . So send some little to Ho-ton Sgo[-mo]."

For a mention of a Ho-si Gyu-mo and of a Gyu-mo without qualification see below, pp. 268, 281.

[1] Added below middle of line.

(*To be continued.*)



2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23

26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36

The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing. *Part II*

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE II)

TYPE 18

IN the *Journal* for 1923, pp. 386–90, in the Series of "Pictographic Reconnaissances", Part V, a small set of ancient forms was discussed and illustrated which I gave reasons for considering the original scription of the word *hsun*, now written 訊, and meaning to question, examine with authority, and, in the phrase, 執 訊 *chih hsun*, standing for "bound captives". It was there maintained that the archaic form represented a kneeling human figure having the arms pinioned behind with cords Fig. 21 on p. 389 of that Paper, reproduced as Fig. 1 on Plate II of the present Number, shows best the conception of the early design.

This same attitude, combined with another element in an integral design, appears in a unique and suggestive character (Fig 2), given by Lo Chên-yu on p. 19 of *chüan* 6 of his *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i* But here in Fig. 2 the crouching figure has for its head a curious, more elaborate, yet stylized shape, found in several slightly differing variants,[1] the original outline of which remains at present obscure though it seems to contain the eye[2] Above this head again is attached a group made up of the two hands, with fingers downwards, holding the archaic version of 糸 *mi*, silk thread, but in combination used ideographically for thread or cord of any kind Beneath this is a strange shape in which it is easy to see an unfortunate captive with hands bound behind his back, being dragged by a cord round his neck.

[1] See e g Figs. 12, 13, and 14 in Plate VIII, *JRAS.* for October, 1927. Also Figs. 37 and 38 in this Number.

[2] Wang Hsiang has ingeniously conjectured that two closely similar archaic characters cited by him from the Honan Finds (but without further reference to chapter and page of Lo's Works), may be 面 *mien*, face.

And, incidentally, I propose to identify this recently discovered figure with a so-called "ancient form" reproduced in the *Shuo Wen* under the character 要 *yao* It may well be that at first this equation will be considered too daring, but less so, I hope, when certain facts are recalled that ought to be borne in mind

First, then, the word *yao*, defined by the *Shuo Wen* as the waist (now written 腰 *yao*), has, besides the now more common sense of to want or require, another meaning, also in frequent use, namely, to bind morally, to constrain, and in that sense is synonymous with 約 *yao*, or *yo*,[1] as Kanghsi states

The *Shuo Wen* gives the Lesser Seal version of *yao* 要 as [seal character], which it analyses as [seal character] *chu*, the two hands, and 交 *chiao*, contracted, giving the sound, though such a shape for such a contraction, it has been objected, is impossible But the same work gives further a different character as the *ku wên* or "ancient form", which is, as written, a complex of the two hands, the element [seal character] *hsin*, skull, and 女 *nu*, woman Fig 3 reproduces it The disaccord between the Lesser Seal and the upper part of this alleged ancient form will be seen at once

Now my suggestion is this, that both the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal and its "ancient form" are corrupt, that the former contains not a contraction of 交 *chiao*, but the old character for silk or cord, that the supposed element *hsin*, skull, otherwise inexplicable, is another and worse corruption of the same sign for cord, and lastly, that the lower part of the *Shuo Wen's* "*ku wên*" form was *not* the archaic shape of *nü*, woman, but a misunderstood and miswritten alteration of the figure of a prisoner with his hands bound behind his

[1] It is pertinent here to observe that no example of this last character as thus composed can be produced from archaic texts It is true that Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien* appears to give one, but it is only, as he states, a reconstruction from archaic versions of 糸 *mi* and 勺 *shao* For myself I rather regret that the Japanese scholar should have so often followed this practice, as being likely to mislead readers who may not notice what he always makes plain, that such and such a character is reconstructed, and is not therefore authenticated from an actual example.

back, the general appearance of the character 女 *nü*, woman, in its early form lending itself easily to such an alteration, whether ignorance or design is responsible.[1]

If this argument should prove tenable, it would follow that the upper part of our complex, Fig. 2, is the original of the Lesser Seal phase of 要 *yao*, while the full archaic character, Fig 2, minus the difficult and intractable head, is the veritable prototype of the *Shuo Wen's* " ancient form ", Fig. 3.

Thus the original design of the character would be a picture inspired by the idea of " constraint ", which is certainly one, and probably the earliest, sense of the word *yao*. And if a rope round his neck, and the binding of his hands behind his back, do not constrain a man, he must be of quite exceptional recalcitrance.

But quite opposed to my interpretation of the analysis and significance of Fig. 2 is that of the Japanese scholar and critic, Tadasuke Takada. He sees in that figure an archaic version of the character 夏 *hsia*, probably an ethnic name, but used in various other senses He dissects Fig. 2 into 夊 *ch'ui*, above which is an element " expressive of dignity ", 有威儀之意, and over that again, a contracted scription of 𤔔 (an obsolete character, said to mean " to put in order ", and traditionally, but probably wrongly, read *luan*), expressing, so Takada says, " composed demeanour " 修容之意. I cannot follow him in this, nor can I detect in the helpless being of the archaic script, either much dignity or any composure.

* * * * *

I venture to take this opportunity of repairing an omission, which I much regret, in Plate IX of the July Number of the *Journal*, where Fig 34*a* is referred to in the text (p. 564)

[1] See also the transformations undergone by this same figure of a bound captive in "Pictographic Reconnaissances" in *JRAS*. for July, 1923, pp. 386–90, *s.v.* 訊 *hsün*.

but by an oversight was omitted from the Plate. I reproduce it as Fig 4 on the accompanying Plate, and now repeat a few sentences from pp 564–5 of the July Number for convenience sake Takada, I remarked, considered the group to be "without doubt the most archaic form of 摯 *chi*, to hold on to", and rightly pointed out that the human figure and the staff make a picture of someone supported by a staff. I added that it would therefore seem reasonable to conclude that *without the hand element on the right, the figure with the staff stands for the most primitive scription of* 杖 *chang, a staff, or to use a staff*

TYPE 19

The design represented by Fig 5 on Plate II depicts a human figure fully expressed with head, arm and hand, and foot. the latter shown probably as a mark symbolizing a standing or walking posture I agree with Wang Hsiang, the author of the *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan*, a dictionary of archaic forms from the Honan Finds, who equates this form (p 47) with the modern character 夋 *ts'ün* Such an identification, though a good case may be urged for it, cannot be considered certain, and in fact there is a rival claimant to the archaic representation of *ts'un*, upheld by a powerful advocate. For in vol xvi of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, No 16, p 2, that specially competent critic, the late Wang Kuo-wei, maintains that the form seen in Fig 6 is in his opinion the archaic prototype of 夋 *ts'un*. He adds that he surmises it to represent the character 俊 *tsun* (or *chün*), heroic, in the name 帝 俊 *ti chun*, "Emperor Hero," a title occurring in the *Shan Hai Ching*, and, he says, the true name of the 帝 俈 *ti Ku*, Emperor Ku, of the legendary ages See also *Kanghsi*, *s v.* 夋 *ts'ün*, which, it is stated, was another name of the Emperor Ku

The main distinction between this Fig 6 and Fig. 5, indicated in the first line of this Type above, lies in the different position of the arm and hand, which seems to make it unlikely

that the two can be mere variants, but I am unable to offer a rival identification. I add on the Plate three variants of Wang Kuo-wei's example, Figs. 7, 8, and 9, taken from my own collection, H 140, 640, and 798.

Another example of the character cited by Wang (Fig 6), identical in form, but apparently from a different text, is preceded by the two characters (above which the fragment is broken) 又 于 *yu yu* If we take 又 *yu* here to equal 佑 *yu*, or 祐 *yu*, *to protect, protection,* we *might suppose a previous word to implore, or to receive, and the whole clause might have been "to implore protection" from the spirit* indicated by Fig. 6, whether *ts'ün* or some other word is *to* be read

TYPE 20

At first sight Figs 10 and 11 hardly suggest that they have to do with the human figure. They appear on the Bones as Place-names according to Lo Chên-yü (*Y H S K.K.S*, p. 15), and will be found in his *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i*, *chuan* ii, pp 3 and 4 But in view of the construction of the archaic character for 鬥 *tou*, to fight, which is (and in a curtailed form), Figs. 10 and 11 would appear to be the two elements of *tou*, minus the forearm and hand

And the construction of this character *tou* is interesting in more than one way. It depicts in linear outline, and slightly stylized manner, an "antithetic" or "heraldic" group of two men fighting, or, as Lo puts it, "without weapons grappling with each other," 徒 手 相 搏. And Lo leaves it at that; but if I am not mistaken, there is a more detailed and a more amusing explanation of these two warriors to be found in our picture The trident-like strokes that surmount the rest of the figure must symbolize the hair of the head, and hair in dishevelled disorder also, a disorder due to the fact that each of the combatants is trying to drag hair by the handful from the head of the other—a form of prowess still displayed at times by Chinese coolies when really enraged.

What remains doubtful, however, is to what modern character Figs. 10 and 11 correspond.

TYPE 21

The variations of this rather baffling character are illustrated by Figs 12 to 17 The lower half of these shows clearly that the profile of a human figure is in question, and the lines of the upper part would seem to represent, or to symbolize, the loose hair of the head And this is the construction put upon the whole complex by Wang Hsiang in his Book, where he conjectures 長 *ch'ang*, long, and *chang*, to grow, to be the modern equivalent Lo Chên-yu leaves the character undetermined, but Wang's suggestion has always attracted me, even though I find in my own collection two examples, Figs 18 and 19, of a formation much closer to those shown in the *Shuo Wen* But that fact is not conclusive against Wang's view, for these Shang Dynasty relics abound with realistic pictograms, and also with much stylized or broken-down signs, for one and the same character And in any case, the six variants, Figs 12 to 17, fall within the scope of this Paper, whether they are early representatives of 長 *ch'ang* or not

TYPE 22

This type bears a general resemblance to the last in the attitude, but the head is either wanting or reduced to the stylized symbol D, and behind or over the head, or over the shoulder, are objects which are sometimes of obscure significance It also forms the main part of several archaic characters, one of which was fully treated in a previous Paper,[1] where a number of variants were illustrated. Here I need only add one that was not among them, Fig. 20. This shows the linear design of a man with stylized head facing left and carrying over his shoulder a halberd, the weapon of his time.

[1] "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VII, under *Fang* 方, in *JRAS.* for July, 1926, pp. 479–83, and Plate VIII. Fig. 20 is from *Y.H S.K.* Hou Pien 下 p. 22.

Figs. 21–23 indicate a different character of unknown modern equation. The head seems to be wanting, and in its place we have a singular element which I am unable to explain. In one instance occurring in my collection (H. 680) the whole character is evidently a man's name or title.

Another and equally inscrutable complex presents itself in the group of variants Figs. 24 to 28 To what *word* this strange formation corresponded is unknown, and apart from our ignorance of its verbal signification, we cannot even quite penetrate the significance of its graphic construction Yet we may, it seems probable, analyse the character as consisting of a human figure, with head in profile shown in part, with one arm raised as though carrying some object over the shoulder, while behind the head is the outline of what certainly appears to be a dissevered human ear Now we know the Chinese tradition that in olden times it was the custom to cut off the ear of a prisoner of war and present it to the Ruler in proof of personal prowess And it would be quite a reasonable conjecture that these figures portrayed a soldier carrying away this token of valour, were it not that a simpler variation of the same theme exists already and abundantly, both on Bronze and Bone documents in the character and *ch'ü*, to fetch, where only the hand holding an ear is represented. This weakens the probability of the conjecture above suggested to some extent, and no other solution seems at hand.

TYPE 23

The rather dull little character shown in Figs 29–31 is considered by Lo Chên-yü, followed by Takada and Wang Hsiang, to be 允 *yun*, meaning both sincere and to consent. Lo explains the Figures as depicting a man looking backwards 象人回顧 *hsiang jên hui ku*, and suggests tentatively the significance of that attitude as "perhaps symbolizing that his words and deeds correspond", 殆言行相顧之意與 Lo's view of the character and of its supposed symbolism does not seem very convincing. Moreover, there is another and rather different figure contemporaneous

with this, which does undoubtedly stand for 允 *yün*, so far as mere form goes, and that is or , found nearly always in combination, sometimes as in Figs 32 and 33, where the later scription was 夋 *ts'un*

But there is still extant on the Honan relics a variant of our character, typologically more primitive, and more self-expressive, than any of the above, though like them found in the archaic scription of 畯 *tsun* It is shown in Figs 34 and 35, where the kneeling or crouching attitude is more fully and naturally displayed And unless there was some difference in the drawing of the head originally, we should be driven to identify Type 23 with Type 3, Figs 9 to 14 [1]

On the whole, we may doubt whether 夋 *ts'un* and 允 *yün* were not once mere variants of the same character, and further, whether the initial sounds of the two words in question, *ts'ün* and *yün*, were not identical in the earlier speech.

Type 24

This has been so fully treated in the *Journal* for October, 1927,[2] that I need not do more here than describe the type as the linearized figure of a man grasping an object sometimes with both hands, sometimes with one, and having in certain examples the head drawn with "a singular crest with an irregular and angular outline, found, however, in the Honan Relics fairly often on human figures in the place where the head ought to be". The foot is also present in some of the variants Fig 36 illustrates the type, the object grasped being omitted

Type 25

In this type we meet a quaint and meagre human figure, distinguished from all others previously studied by having one arm behind its back, bent at the elbow and grasping by its long handle some implement or weapon whose head

[1] See *JRAS* for July, 1929, p. 560 and Plate IX.

[2] In "Pictographic Reconnaissances", Part VIII, pp. 771–7, and Plate VII, Figs. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, showing a considerable range of variational detail.

rests apparently on the ground. The rest of the figure is made up of a stylized reduction of the head, below which is a linear trunk and the remaining upper arm, while the line of the body terminates in a bent leg and foot. See Figs. 37 and 38. What is the significance of this drawing ? and can we associate this unusual complex with any modern character ? I believe we can respond to both these questions with some assurance, and since the matter has both interest and importance to the students of the Chinese archaic world, I venture to treat it in some detail.

Mr Takada is, to my knowledge, the only authority who has attempted to decipher the character, though not to equate it with any modern form, nor to assign to it definitely either sound or sense He considers it to consist of what he believes to be the archaic scription of 夒 *nao*, ape, on the left, with 戉 *yueh*, battle-axe, (modern 鉞), on the right, and ranges it in one of the categories called by him 古逸字 *ku i tzŭ*, or "archaic disused characters", throughout his great Work [1]

In this analysis I am unable to follow him, and disbelieve that the two elements involved are those corresponding to *nao*, ape, and *yueh*, battle-axe. (And where do even the most modern Gorillas trail battle-axes behind them ?)

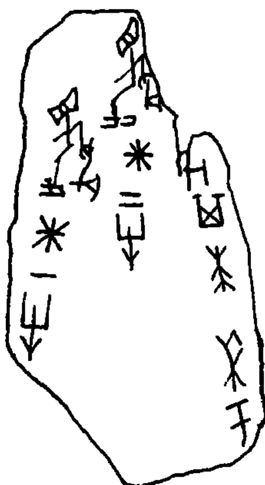
The solution I am about to put forward is on quite other lines, and to make it clearer to follow, I add below a tracing of the facsimile of the bone fragment with its inscription, given on p 24 *verso* of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsu Shu Ch'i Hou Pien*, 上 Shang, in the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, part iii.

This bone fragment contains in large well-written shape twelve complete characters, and part of another at the break of the bone at the right-hand upper corner. The inscription is in three vertical columns, of which the right is the first, and is continuous with the middle line of four characters. The left and third line seems to be a separate entry though related to the previous sentence It seems to require some

[1] See his *Ku Chou P'ien*, chap. 26, p. 30.

previous words corresponding to those of the right-hand column, but none can be detected above it in Lo's facsimile.

The modern transcription of these three vertical lines of archaic characters is clear, but for the curious complex that constitutes Type 25, under discussion. I believe this to be the original scription of the character now written 畟 *tsi,* for which later scribes, in the Title 后 稷 *Hou Tsi,* substituted



TEXT-FIGURE 1.

the augmented character 稷 having the same sound, but the different meaning Millet. Hence Chavannes rendered 后 稷 *Hou Tsi* (literally, as I believe, " Lord of the Ploughshares," a rendering I shall defend a little lower down) by the words " Prince de Millet ".

We should read the inscription then, in modern Chinese, thus :—

Line 1. [Part of an undeciphered character mutilated by fracture of bone] followed by 其 求 禾 于 *ch'i ch'iu ho* [standing for 年 *nien*] *yü*

Line 2. 畟 燎 二 牛 *tsi liao erh niu.*

Line 3 畟 燎 一 牛 *tsi liao i niu*

This would be equivalent in English to :—

Line 1. X X the-or-that pray-for the harvest to

Line 2. *Tsi*, and make-a-burnt-offering of two oxen.

Line 3. X X *Tsi*, and make-a-burnt-offering of one ox.

Such a translation at least gives an intelligible and probable sense, whereas Takada's decipherment of the anthropomorphic character as *nao*, ape, and *yüeh*, battle-axe, and his or his printer's error in printing 米 *mi*, rice, for 米 (= 燎 *liao*), a burnt-offering, leaves us unenlightened.

The use of 禾 *ho*, growing grain, as a contraction of the ancient character for 年 *nien*, year, or harvest, the word intended here, is not uncommon on these Honan relics, as Takada points out.

This brings me to the defence of my contention that the remarkable form shown in Type 25 is the true original of the Lesser Seal , and modern shape 畟 *tsi*. The constituent elements in these two phases are, as it were, dislocated, when compared with the more living picture on the Bones. But that is not all. They further omit the arm behind the back and the object held in it. But, for all that, it seems clear that what was intended by the ancient artist, was a man walking and dragging behind him some implement of tillage, whether a hoe or, perhaps, a primitive ploughshare. For though the *Shuo Wen* under its entry of 畟 *tsi*, rather describes its function than defines its fashion, when it writes, 治稼畟畟進也 *chih chia tsi tsi chin yeh*, that is, "In tillage, sharp-sharp-ly to move forward," the *Erh Ya* is more explicit and writes, 畟畟耜也 *tsi tsi ssŭ yeh*, "*tsi-tsi* is the share or blade"

Was there, then, still lingering on in the Second Millennium B.C., a tradition among the early Chinese of a tillage practised not with oxen or horses, but by men pushing or dragging a primitive ploughshare, and thus opening up to the sowing of seed the virgin soil of territories in which they were immigrants and intruders? Such a racial memory, incarnate in an eponymous hero *Hou Tsi*, the Lord or Overseer of Ploughshares, and piously epiphanized in the Figure of Type

25, may well be revealed by the scanty clauses of the inscription discussed above, which clearly indicate a supplication to some spiritual being having power to grant or withhold a bounteous harvest

In "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VIII, in the *Journal* for October, 1927, p 777, referring to the same Figure (here Fig 37 of Plate), I wrote, "The significance attributable to this enigmatic group eludes us, consequently also the modern verbal and graphic equations"

Further consideration of the inscription illustrated in the text above (Text-Fig 1) suggests so strongly that the "enigmatic group" is, in fact, the prototype of the character 畟 *tsi*, a share or blade, despite the absence in the modern form of any element corresponding to the object dragging in the rear of the human figure, that I venture the surmise that the element 耒 *lei*, plough, was at some later date substituted for the object shown in the archaic scription, and the character 耒畟 *tsi* was thus created as a kind of *cy-près* solution of the difficulty This surmise is fortified by the statement of the *Tsi Yun* 集韻 Dictionary (cited by Kanghsi) that "耒畟 is the same as 畟 *tsi*", 同 畟 *t'ung tsi*, that is, is a variant form of it What is more we should thus find an explanation for the fact that a word really meaning a share or blade, should be apparently represented in the Lesser Seal and modern forms of writing, *only* by a human figure advancing in profile As an original design for such a word, that seems most inadequate and unlikely

Yes, it may be objected, but it is only a conjecture at the best. So it is, but when certainty is beyond reach, conjecture, supported by argument, is the next best thing, for a conjecture is also a challenge And so, adapting a stanza from Bret Harte, let me end this study in the minor key of Truthful James :—

"Which is why I remark, And my language is plain,
That for ways that are dark, And for tricks that are vain,
Archaic Chinese is peculiar, Which the same I am free to
maintain."

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ESA MUÑJAM PARIHARE

This passage of the Padhāna-Sutta (Suttanipāta, v. 440) has been declared, on p. 917 of *JRAS*. 1929, to have been misunderstood by Dr. W. Eggers in his dissertation "Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas". As a matter of fact, Dr. Eggers has said nothing on the Sutta, but merely repeated the statement of the scholiast regarding the *anivattino*. But as I am myself of opinion (and have said so to my students, among whom was Dr. Eggers) that the scholiast comes nearer to truth than both Pischel and Oldenberg thought, I trust that the following little restatement of the case will not be found superfluous

It will be remembered that Pischel in his fascinating paper "Ins Gras beissen" (*Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss*, 1908, p. 445 ff., has explained, among other things, that taking grass or reed in one's mouth was in ancient India an appeal to the enemy to spare one's life, and that, therefore, the Bodhisattva, despising surrender to Māra, said · *esa muñjaṃ parihare* "Ich verschmähe das Schilfrohr"—"I refuse to take the reed".

This view was promptly declined by Oldenberg by quoting (in *ZDMG*, 1908, p 594) from the Vedic literature (Gobhila, Kāty. Śraut., Śatap. Brāhm) five passages in which the verb *parihar* appears in close connection with *muñja-mekhalā*, *muñja-yoktra*, etc , i e. with a girdle made of muñja grass bestowing mystical power for performing certain ceremonies, or (according to the Atharva-Veda) magical power for conquering one's enemy (*vīraghnī mekhalā*; Kauśika-Sūtra : *anayainaṃ mekhalayā sināmi*).

One more fact telling against Pischel might have been mentioned by Oldenberg, viz. that nowhere in the Nikāyas has the verb *parihar* the meaning "to reject, to disdain" or

the like (see the P T.S.'s *Dictionary* where for the noun *parihāra* in the sense of "avoidance, keeping away from" only a Jātaka passage is referred to).

But Oldenberg comes to a strange conclusion. He winds up by paraphrasing as follows the meaning of the sentence we are concerned with. "Möge er (Māra) immerhin seinen Muñjagurtel umnehmen, der im bevorstehenden Kampfe ihm Sieg bringen soll"—"Let him (Māra) by all means put on his muñja belt which is to secure him victory in the impending fight". Evidently, then, Oldenberg takes the three stanzas 440–42 to be a soliloquy interrupting the direct speech of the Bodhisattva to Māra

It must be strongly doubted that this is correct. At first sight, indeed, stanza 442 may not seem to be addressed to Māra; but stanza 431 (*te Māro vattum arahati* = Lal Vist. *tān evam vaktum arhasi*) shows that *Māraṃ*, in 442, may be and probably is nothing else than a poetical substitute for *Māra tvaṃ* (voc. + acc) The three stanzas contain nothing that could be accounted for only by the assumption of a soliloquy, while everything they contain is calculated to frighten Māra and therefore not likely to be a soliloquy. This is particularly evident in stanza 441, which I would paraphrase thus (*ettha* = *sangāme*; no *na*, as in Mahāvastu): "Do not think that I am no match for you, because there are a good many ascetics waging war with you unsuccessfully. For, if these do not succeed, it is because they are not loyal to their vow (*subbatā*) and do not, as I do, know the one way leading to success."

Still, the Vedic references adduced by Oldenberg are important and decisive. It cannot be doubted that our passage has something to do with them. It is not, however, the mystic or magical power of the Vedic muñja belt which connects the latter with our Bodhisattva, but merely its being the token of a *vrata*. Even now the practice of wearing a grass ring for the duration of a *vrata* (or *dīkṣā*) is not uncommon in India. In my opinion, therefore, *muñjaṃ*

parihare means much the same as *vratam badhnāmi*, the special kind of vow being understood. The Bodhisattva says: "I take the vow to conquer or to die, caring nothing for life," and this fits in perfectly with the second line of the stanza, in which I can see no mild resignation, as Pischel does,[1] but only the words of the true Kṣatriya: "Death in battle is better for me than if I would live as a vanquished man."

The scholiast, then, is essentially right. The word *muñja* in the Sutta does mean some outward sign indicating the *vrata* of the *anivattino*.[2] And though the author of the Sutta may have thought of the ring or belt, the practice of wearing a *muñjatinam* fastened on the head or banner or weapon of the warrior (to frighten the enemy) may well have existed at the scholiast's time.

F. Otto Schrader.

NOTES ON HITTITE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

The country known to the Assyrians as Samalla, also written Sam-alla from an assimilation to the Semitic שמאל lay north of the Gulf of Antioch, its capital city being the modern Sinjerli as was proved by the German excavations on the site. Tomkins was the first to identify it with the Samalua of Thothmes III (*Syrian Geographical List*, No. 314) where it is associated with Aleppo (No. 311), 'Urma (313), the modern 'Umq of Uerem or Plain of Antioch, and 'Akama (315) in which Tomkins saw the name of the modern Akma Dagh. In one of the Cappadocian tablets from Kara Eyuk (Sidney Smith: *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets* 36, *a* 4) we read that "the governor of Purutim" wrote to a Babylonian merchant at Ganis (Kara Eyuk) to say that "the Governor of 'Simala" had lately "departed (?) from

[1] Thinking, it seems, that the Bodhisattva continues on the defensive, whereas, in reality, this is just the beginning of his offensive (cf. 442: *yuddhāya paccuggacchāmi mā maṃ ṭhānā acāvayi*).

[2] Which, by the way, need not mean *morituri*, but may mean simply those who have vowed not to flee.

us" (*isti-ni ki(?)bis*). Purutim is the Purt of the Thothmes list (No 316) where it follows Samalna and 'Akama, and corresponds with the Assyrian Purattu or Euphrates.

Zalba is frequently mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets as a chief source of the export of lead. It lay to the south of the Halys, as is shown by its connection with Khakhim (*Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum*, iii, p 34, *b* 4–8) "Dadum has reached Zalba, saying 'Here am I for the goods to Khakhim I will go'" (*azir lukutim ana Khakhim luhk*). According to the Arabic writers there was a "Lead-borough" (برج الرصاص) in the province of Aleppo (Sachau: *Sitzungsberichte d Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892, xxi, p 14) I am inclined to identify Zalba with Anazarba which the Arabic historians write 'Ain Zarba, "the Spring of Zarba". In Assyrian this would have been Ena Zarba, while the later Aramaic of Cilicia would have made it עין־זרבא. Suidas, who makes the "Anazarbian" (Anazarbas) founder of the city live in the time of the emperor Nerva (!), confuses it with Kuinda, the Kundi of the Assyrian texts The ancient name seems to survive in the Turkish Anavurza. For the interchange of *l* and *r* we may compare *zûrakhi* (*sic*) and *zalkhu*, the Subaræan or Mitannian word for "lead" (WAI v, 29, 41–2). Possibly the form of the name was influenced by the Assyrian *zaruba* "refined metal".

In the treaty between the Hittite king Mutallis and Sunassioras king of Kizzuwadna the river Savri forms part of the boundary between the two kingdoms In Savri I see the classical Saros. The name still survives in that of the Savran Chai which flows between the Saros and the Pyramus.

The city of Durmitta in the Boghaz Keui cuneiform texts is identified with the modern Derende by Professor Garstang. The latter part of the name recurs in other local names like Kismitta and Karasmitti and since initial *m-* commonly represents *w-* in Hittite, more especially after the vowel *u*, the pronunciation of the name would have been Durwitta. Cf. the variant forms of the name of the city Khagmis,

Khaggamis and Khagbis (which presupposes Khagwis). Lewy has shown that Durmitta is the Durkhumeid or Durkhumit of the Cappadocian tablets (which also mention a Kunana-meit C.T. iii, 7, *a* 21). Durkhumeid, or rather Durkhumit, lay in the direction of Samukha, and in Clay, *Letters from Cappadocia*, No. 70, we are told that the caravan road ran from Durkhumit to Wakhsusana and from Wakhsusana to Saladuar (also written Salatiwar and Salatimear, No. 148, 27, where it is conjoined with Ursu, the classical Rhôssus).

A. H. SAYCE

THE RASTRAKUTAS AND THE GAHARVALS

There is much difference of opinion among historians as to the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Gaharvāls being identical.

Dr Burnell, observing the Rāṣṭrakūtas mentioned as *Ratta-vaṃśīs* in some of their inscriptions,[1] was led to infer that they are members of the Reḍḍi tribe. He believed that it is the Telugu word *Reddi* which has been distorted into *Ratta* In Telugu this epithet is applied to the aboriginal agriculturists of that province

Mr V A Smith held that the Gaharvāls and Rāṣṭrakūtas of Upper India, at least, seem to have come from the same stock [2]

For some time they held sway over Kanauj, as appears from the copper grant dated Saka-S 972 (V S 1107; A D 1051) of king Trilocanapāla of Lāta (Gujarat), which contains :—

कान्यकुब्जे महाराजराष्ट्रकूटस्य कन्यकां
लब्ध्वा सुखाय तस्यां त्वं चौलुक्याप्नुहि सन्ततिं ।

(*Indian Antiquary*, vol xii, p. 201)

[1] Researchers of history are well aware that in the inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I, as also in that of Indra III found at Navasari, the word "Ratta" only stands instead of "Rāṣṭrakūṭa" to denote the race of these kings, which shows that "Ratta" is another form of the word "Rāṣṭrakūṭa".

[2] "The Northern Rathors are off-shoots of the Gaharwals" V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 429.

i e "O, Caulukya! seek the hand of the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj, and produce offspring."

In an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iii, p. 41, Mr. J. W. Watson, Political Superintendent, Palanpur, writes that on Thursday [1] the Mārgaśīrṣa Śudi 5 of V S. 936, the Rāṭhor Śrīpati, king of Kanauj, on the occasion of his accession to the throne, made a charitable grant of sixteen villages in North Gujarat to the Chibadiya Brahmans. One of those villages, named Etā, is still held by the descendants of those Brahmans He also adds that the Muhammadan historians of Gujarat have acknowledged the king of Kanauj to be master of Gujarat

In the above grant this Śrīpati is designated *Kanaujeśvara*, either perhaps as being a member of a Kanauj royal family of Rāṣtrakūtas, or because the Rāṣtrakūta king Dhruvarāja II of the southern branch may, after defeating king Bhojadeva Parihār of Kanauj, have granted an appanage to Śrīpati's father, who belonged to a section of Northern Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and on his death this Śrīpati may have made this charitable grant.

In the *Bombay Gazetteer* also the village of Eta is stated to have been granted by the Rāsṭrakūta king of Kanauj. Dr Fleet also holds that the Rāṣtrakūtas had migrated to the South from the North

But on this point it may, however, be asked how the Rāṣtrakūtas of the Deccan, who are described as Candra-vaṃśīs in their inscriptions, can be considered descendants of the Sūrya-vamśa My reply to this is that in the first place the distinction of Candra, Sūrya, and Agni Vaṃśa, is only a Paurāṇic idea, because in different places the same clan is designated as of different lineage [2] Moreover, if at

[1] In fact, Sunday falls on this date.

[2] In some inscriptions of the Solankis (Caulukyas), in the *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya* of Hemacandra, and in the *Vastupāla-Carita* written by Jina Harṣa Gaṇin, the Caulukya race is said to have sprung from the Lunar stock. But in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-Carita*, written by Bilhaṇa, the origin of the

all the matter deserves notice, it will be seen that in fact nowhere before S 782 are the Rāṣṭrakūṭas stated to be Candra-vaṃśīs. Further, among the 1,800 silver coins of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇarāja I, found at Dhamori (Amraoti), we find the phrase :—

"परममाहेश्वरमहादित्यपादानुध्यातश्रीकृष्णराज"

Here the word महादित्य alludes to the king's being of the Sūrya vaṃśa, because in the documents hitherto discovered *Mahāditya* appears neither as a title nor as a name of his father. Thus it doubtless refers to his prime ancestor, the sun

Besides this the copper grant dated Saka-S 730 (V S 865, A.D. 808) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda-rāja III, contains the verse :—

यस्मिन्सर्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो
जाते यादववंशवन्मधुरिपावासीदलंघ्यः परैः ।

i.e. "just as the Yādava clan became invincible owing to the birth of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, in like manner the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan also became invincible by the birth of this able king."

This shows that until this date the Rāṣṭrakūta clan must have been considered distinct from the Yādava[1] clan; but later on the scribe of the copper grant of king Amoghavarṣa I dated Saka-S. 782 (V. S 917, A D 860), probably misinterpreting the simile in the aforesaid plate of king Govindarāja, may

race is held to be from Brahma, which view is also supported by the inscription of the Solanki king Kumārapāladeva.

In the Mount Abu inscription dated V.S. 1377 of the Chauhān Lumbha the Chauhān clan is stated to belong to the Lunar stock; in the inscription of the time of Visāladeva IV, in the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, and in the *Pṛthvī-rāja-vijaya* this clan is said to be of the Solar stock; while in the *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso* it is mentioned as having sprung from Agni, the Fire God. Similar is the case of the other clans.

[1] This fact is borne out by the inscription of the Yādava king Bhīma, dated V.S. 1442, found at Prabhāsa Paṭṭana, which contains the words :—

वंशो(शौ) प्रसिद्धो(द्धौ) हि यथा रवीन्द्वो(न्द्वो): ।
राष्ट्रोढवंशस्तु तथा तृतीयः ।

have taken this king for a Yādava-vamśī The later writers of the subsequent seven grants, as also Halāyudha, seems to have copied this mistake

In the *Rāstroda-vaṃśa-Mahākāvya*, written in Saka S. 1518 (V S 1653, A D 1596), it is stated that a Candra-vamśī prince had been adopted by the Sūrya-vamśī king of Kanauj [1] and that the former was the first prince to be designated Rāstroḍa

Besides this, it is also possible that in course of time, owing to the influence of Vaishnavism, the Rāṣtrakūtas may have been considered Yadu-vamśīs I quote, for instance, the case of the Gohil house of Bhaunagar (Kāṭhiāwār). When, in the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era, they had been ruling in Mārwār, they were considered Sūrya-vamśīs, whereas now, owing to their present abode being in the vicinity of Dwārakā, they allege themselves to be Candra-vamśīs, as is evinced by the following stanza —

[1] पुरा कदाचिन्नतये समेतान्देवाननुज्ञाप्य गृहाय सद्यः ।
कात्यायनीमर्द्धशशाङ्कमौलिः कैलासशैले रमयाम्बभूव ॥ १२ ॥

अन्योन्यभूषापणबन्धरम्यं तत्रान्तरे द्यूतमदीव्यतां तौ ॥ १४ ॥

कात्यायनीपाणिसरोजकोशविलोलिताच्चपिता तथेन्दोः ।
गर्भान्वितैकादशवार्षिको ऽभूदभूतपूर्वः प्रतिमः कुमारः ॥ २० ॥

तस्मै वरं साम्बशिवो दयालुः श्रीकान्यकुब्जेश्वरतामरासीत् ॥ २३ ॥
अत्रान्तरे काचन लातनाख्या समेत्य देवी गिरिजाहराभ्याम् ।
विलीनभूमिपतिकान्यकुब्जराज्याधिपत्याय शिशुं ययाचे ॥ २४ ॥

नारायणो नाम नृपः सुतार्थी यत्रेश्वरं ध्यायति सूर्यवंश्यः ।
सा रुद्रदत्तेन सहामुनाश्चिन्नवातरत्काञ्चनमेखलेन ॥ २८ ॥
अलक्ष्यदेहा तमवोचदेषा राजन्नसावस्तु तवैकसूनुः ।
अनेन राज्यं च कुलं तवेदं राष्टौ(ष्टो)ढनामा तदिह प्रतीतः ॥२९ ॥

(सर्गः प्रथमः)

चन्द्रवंशि सरद्दार गोत्र गौतम वक्खाणूं
शाखा माधविसार भूके प्रवरत्रय आयूं
अधिदेव उद्धार देव चामुण्डा देवी
पाण्डवकुल परमाण आद्य गोहिल चल एवी
विक्रमबध करनार नृप शालिवाहन चक्वे थयो
ते पछी तेज चोलादगो सोरठ मा सेवक भयो ॥

A further proof of Vaisnavism influencing the lineage is that in the seal of a copper grant, of the sixth century, of the Vikrama of the Rāṣtrakūta king Abhimanyu, there is an image of the goddess Ambikā seated on a lion, while in their subsequent copper grants Garuḍa has been substituted

Here it may also be asked why, if the Rāṣtrakūtas in reality were not Candra-vamśīs, did they themselves allow the repetition of a mistake committed by a scribe In reply I beg to say that the royal family of Udaipur is popularly styled Sūrya-vaṃśī, but the learned Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa himself, concurring with the opinion of previous scholars, stated in his *Rasika-priyā* (a commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*) that the founder of the dynasty was a Brahman :—

श्रीवैजवापेन सगोत्रवर्यः श्रीबप्पनामा द्विजपुङ्गवोऽभूत् ।

Next I shall take up the question of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Gaharvāls being one and the same

An inscription of king Lakhaṇapāla [1] has been found at Badāyūn · it is of the thirteenth century A D. It contains the lines :—

प्रख्याताखिलराष्ट्रकूटकुलजक्ष्मापालदोःपालिता
पाञ्चालाभिधदेशभूषणकरी वोदामयूतापुरी

. . . .

तत्रादितोभवदनन्तगुणो नरेन्द्र
चन्द्रः स्वखड्गभयभीषितवैरिवृन्दः ।

i.e. "Protected by the famous Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, the city of

[1] This Lakhaṇapāla was seventh in descent from Candra By assigning twenty years to each generation we arrive at about the same period which is assigned to the Gaharvāl Candra of Kanauj.

In the United Provinces this Lakhaṇa is generally supposed to be a nephew of king Jayacandra, and I think that the author of the *Rāso* has also somewhere in his work mentioned him as such.

Badāyūn is an ornament of the province of Kanauj (Pāñcāla). Having conquered his foes by his prowess, Candra became the first king of that place."

Similarly, we have found a copper grant of the Gaharvāl Candradeva of V S 1148 which contains the lines :—

> विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ।
> येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं
> श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्विक्रमेणार्जितम् ।

i e "Candradeva, son of Yaśovigraha, became a powerful monarch Having vanquished his enemies with the force of his arms, he took the kingdom of Kanauj" The lineage of Candradeva is not mentioned in this copper grant. But his descendants were afterwards known as Gaharvāls

Comparing both these inscriptions and taking into consideration the contemporaneousness of the two Candradevas mentioned therein, we conclude that both refer to one and the same Candradeva, having first taken Badāyūn, later took possession of Kanauj also After him his eldest son Madanapāla ascended the throne of Kanauj, while the younger son Vigrahapāla received Badāyūn as a *jāgīr* The Badāyūn family stuck to the original racial name, but the descendants of Madanapāla, being sovereigns of Gādhipura (another name of Kanauj), assumed the title of Gaharvāl, just as some Rāstrakūtas, residents of village Renka of the United Provinces, came to be known after it as Renkvāls In the Prakrit language *Gahar* can easily be a corruption of *Gādhipura* [1]

It may also be noted that, when Rao Sīha, having severed all connections with Kanauj, migrated to Mārwār, he at once abandoned his surname Gaharvāl and acknowledged himself as simple Rāṣtrakūta

We conclude that, when the power of the Parihārs became weak owing to the invasion of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Indrarāja III of the Deccan, their feudatories began to assume

[1] [This etymology seems to require explanation —Ed]

independence. Consequently in about V. S 1137 some Member of the Rāṣṭrakūta family, having carved out an independent state of Badāyūn, soon after took possession of Kanauj. Afterwards, when Jayacandra was killed and when, shortly after, Shams-ud-dīn began to drive out the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from that region, Jayacandra's grandson Sīha migrated to Mārwār *via* Mahuvi

Certain ruins at Mahuvi (Dist Farrukhabad) are still called Sīha-rao-kā-kherā.

Again, from a copper grant of Rao Dhuhar, grandson of Rao Sīha, we gather that in his reign a Brahman had brought down the idol of their tutelary deity from Kanauj Similarly, in the inscription of V S. 1686 of Rāthōr Jagmal, the latter's ancestor Dhuhar is mentioned as Sūrya-vamśī Kanaujīya Rāthōr.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we are led to believe that in reality the Rāstrakūtas and the Gaharvāls were of the same lineage Besides this, in the *Rajatarangini* (written in the twelfth century of the Vikrama era) there is a mention of thirty-six clans of Kshatriyas, and in the *Kumāra-pāla-caritra* (written in V S 1422), where thirty-six clans are enumerated, the Rāsṭrakūṭa clan is designated "Rat", while no specific mention is made of Gaharvāls.

Again, finding a mention of the name of Gopāla and his successor Madanapāla in a Bauddha inscription of V S 1176 (A.D. 1118) from Set Maheṭh, and Gopāla being entitled therein as "*Gādhipurādhipa*", or ruler of Kanauj, Mr N B Sanyal thinks that these two, Gopāla and Madana, were the ancestors of the aforesaid Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Lakhanapāla of Badāyūn, that Gopāla had acquired possession of Kanauj in the last quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, sometime between the overthrow of the Pratihāra Dynasty of Kanauj in A D 1020 (V.S 1077) and the acquisition of that kingdom by Gaharwāl Candra in almost the last part of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, and that Gaharwāl Candra had seized the kingdom of Kanauj from

Gopāla, which accounts for the title of "*Gādhipurādhipa*" being affixed in the inscription of Seṭ Maheṭh to the name of Gopāla alone, and not to that of his son Madana.

Further, Mr Sanyal quotes a stanza from the copper grant dated Saka-S 972 (A D 1050; V S 1107) of Trilocanapāla, found at Surat, in which there is a *mention of the* Rāṣṭrakūṭas having ruled over Kanauj Mr. Sanyal supports this view on the basis of the Set Maheth inscription

In regard to the above opinion the following points deserve consideration —

There have been found a copper grant of Trilocanapāla, dated A D. 1027 (V S 1084), and also an inscription of Yaśaḥ-pāla, dated A D 1036 (V S 1093), from which we conclude that the Pratihāras held sway over Kanauj for some time even after this period. Moreover, a stanza in the copper grant[1] of the Gaharwāl Candra, dated V S 1148 (A D 1091), found at Candravatī, runs as follows :—

तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोसलेन्द्र-
स्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य ।
हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजेभ्यो
येनाङ्किता वसुमती शतशस्तुलाभिः ॥

From this we understand the Candra had conquered Kanauj long before the date of this inscription The propositions that Candra had conquered Kanauj in the last part of the eleventh century of the Christian Era and that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla of the Badāyūn inscription ruled over Kanauj in the last quarter of the eleventh century do not appeal to reason

Again in the Badāyūn inscription it is thus stated about Madanapāla, successor of Gopāla—

"यत्पौरुषात्प्रवरतः सुरसिन्धुतीरहम्वीरसंगमकथा न कदा-चिदासीत्" (l. ४)

i e. "under the powerful influence of Madanapāla there was

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ix, p 304.

no talk even of the Muhammadans ever attempting an approach to the bank of the Ganges"

As to this Mr. Sanyal himself thinks that Madanapāla may have fought with the Muhammadans as a feudatory general in the army of the Gaharwāl Govindacandra

If it were so, it would be more open to question how the scribe, who delights in recording even the ordinary act of his patron's forefather Madana in having kept the Muhammadans from the banks of the Ganges, forgot to take notice of such a great deed as the conquest of Kanauj by Madana's predecessor, Gopāla?

Mr Sanyal holds V. S. 1257 (A D 1200) as the probable date of the Rāṣtrakūta Lakhaṇa's Badāyūn inscription. This Lakhaṇa was seventh in descent from Candradeva According to the prevalent practice of assigning a period of twenty years to each ruler, if we count back 140 years from the date V S 1257, we arrive at V S 1117 (A D 1060), as the time of Candradeva of Badāyūn.

We have found a copper grant of V S 1148 (A.D 1091) of Candra of Kanauj, referring to his many past conquests and ceremonies, also we know that this Candra retired from the throne in V. S 1154 (A D 1097), having made over the kingdom to his son Madana, and died only three years after From these facts we conclude that this Candra was rather old at the time of issuing this copper grant (V. S 1148); and this is further borne out by the fact that even his son Madana, having attained old age, retired in V S 1161 (A D 1104), i e. only four years after Candra's death, and died in about V. S. 1167 (A.D 1110)

Hence, to suppose that Candra of Badāyūn is identical with him of Kanauj would not be improbable The same Candra, having acquired Badāyūn, may soon after have conquered Kanauj, as has been stated before

In the circumstances, if we presume Gopāla of the Seṭ Maheṭh inscription to be identical with the one mentioned in the Badāyūn inscription, it may be said that the scribe

of the former inscription may have affixed the title "*Gādhipurādhipa*" to Gopāla in consideration of the Badāyūn family being closely related to the Kanauj family.

In the foregoing we have referred to the copper grant dated Saka-S 972 (V S 1107; A D 1050) of Trilocanapāla. This inscription has reference to some past, and not to any contemporary, Rāṣṭrakūtas of Kanauj It therefore finds no support in the Set Maheth inscription

Further, is it not strange that, owing to a fancied resemblance between the names of Yaśovigraha and Vigrahapāla and Mahīcandra and Mahīpāla, Dr Hoernle came to the conclusion that the Gaharvāls belonged to the Pāla Dynasty? In the first place, the names of all the kings of the Pāla dynasty ended in the termination Pāla; secondly, Mahīpala of the Pāla dynasty was a powerful king, while the Gaharvāl Mahīcandra was not even an independent chief Thirdly, in all the inscriptions of the Pāla kings, excepting one of Mahīpāla, the dates are given in their regnal years, whereas in all the inscriptions of the Gaharvāl kings the Vikrama Samvat is used Lastly, kings Dharmapāla and Rājyapāla of the Pāla Dynasty married the daughters of kings Parabala and Tuṅga respectively of the Rāstrakūta Dynasty, while, as shown above, the Rāstakūtas and Gaharvāls were identical

Some people hold the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Gaharvāls to be of distinct origins on the ground of their different *Gotras* But Vijñāneśvara has clearly said—

राजन्यविशां . . . . पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ

i e "the *Gotras* and *Pravaras* of kings accord with those of their priests"

Accordingly, having shifted their residence from one province to another, they may probably have been required to change their Purohitas, and so their *Gotras* may also have changed

The quotation given below from Aśvaghoṣa's *Saundarananda-Mahākāvya* will also be sufficient to show that the

difference in *Gotras* does not necessarily indicate difference of the clans :—

गुरोर्गोत्रादतः कौत्सास्ते भवन्ति स्म गौतमाः ॥ २२ ॥
(सर्ग १)

i e. "owing to the change of the priest they adopted Gautama's *Gotra* instead of their previous Kautsa *Gotra.*"

Thus, on giving a careful consideration to the subject, the doubts raised against the collateralness of the Rāṣṭrakūtas and the Gaharwāls will be seen to be groundless.

SĀHITYĀCĀRYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1 Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1928, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux pris marqués (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Ḥamâsah* de al-Buḥturî (1909), fl. 96 , (2) *Kitâb al-Fâkhir* de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 , (3) *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; (5) *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erla uterungen versehen, par S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7.50 ; (8) *Les Livres des Chevaux*, par G. Levi della Vida (1829), fl. 5.

Novembre, 1929.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE ZOOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE NUZHATU-L-QULŪB OF ḤAMDULLĀH AL-MUSTAUFĪ AL-QAZWĪNĪ. Edited, translated, and annotated by Lieut.-Colonel J. STEPHENSON, C.I.E., M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxx.) 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 100 + 127. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1928. 15*s.*

During the last twenty years considerable attention has been given to one of the chief Persian writers of the Īl-khānī period, Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī of Qazwīn, a friend of the illustrious statesman and historian, Rashīdu'ddīn Faḍlullāh, who appointed him to a post in the financial administration. Of the works in which his leisure was employed, three have come down to us. The first of these, the universal history known as *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda*, has been published in facsimile in the Gibb Memorial Series with an abridged translation by the late Professor E. G. Browne; the second is the immense historical poem entitled *Zafarnāma*, extant in a unique MS. (Brit. Museum, Or. 2833); the third is the *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulūb*, which may be described as an encyclopædia of popular science. The third *maqāla* comprising the geographical portion of the work was edited and translated by Mr. G. Le Strange (Gibb Memorial Series, xxiii), and now we are indebted to Colonel Stephenson for an excellent edition and translation of the section dealing with zoology, which forms part of the first *maqāla*. There seems to be no earlier Persian treatise on the subject, and even in Arabic, apart from monographs by philologists like Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubayda, the *Kitābu 'l-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ stands alone, for while the *Nuzhat* was completed in 1340, Damīrī's *Ḥayātu 'l-Ḥayawān* dates from the latter half of the same century. Moreover, the Arabic writers regard the subject mainly from a literary point of view, unlike Ḥamdullāh, whose work runs on scientific

lines, though its contents do no more than "allow us to see what, good or bad, high or low, actually was the state of zoological science in the Muhammadan East in mediaeval times". Faint as this praise may appear, Colonel Stephenson judges rightly that the historical aspect of the work is that which constitutes its real importance. Though teeming with absurdities, it provides in comparatively few pages a great amount of information, not readily accessible elsewhere, that sheds light over a wide field of study. For example, since the description of each animal is followed by a list of the medical and magical uses of its several parts, "we thus have a 'Materia Medica'—a list of the drugs of animal origin used in Persia at the time of the compilation of the *Nuzhat*," and the names of the diseases in which they were applied. Much of this lore is traditional or popular; the authorities most frequently cited are the *Wonders of Creation* by the writer's fellow-townsman Zakariyyā b Muhammad al-Qazwīnī and the vast collection of anecdotes by 'Awfī—a fact that speaks for itself. It should be noticed, on the credit side, that he often gives the Turkī and Mongolian names of the animals described Naturally these names have suffered at the hands of the copyists.

The oldest and best MS of the *Nuzhat* is one written in 1449 and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ancien Fonds 139) By collating this and five other MS copies in addition to the Bombay lithograph, the editor has produced a good and trustworthy text Here and there, I think, it is capable of being improved, but so far as I have tested it the doubtful readings are almost invariably those which cannot be corrected with any certainty E g. ماريطوعون (p. ٥٠), the name of a fabulous "man-eater", is clearly a mistranscription of μαρτιχόρος or μαρτιχώρας, which in its turn represents the Persian مردخوار; but who shall decide how the word was spelt by Ḥamdullāh? Old MSS. of the *Jawāmi'u 'l-Ḥikāyāt* have ماريطوعودون, an easy

corruption of مارطيخوروس. Notwithstanding its straightforward style, the book raises many a problem for readers unfamiliar with its subject-matter. We have therefore every reason to be grateful to Colonel Stephenson, one of the rare Oriental scholars who are also experts in zoology and medicine, for a satisfying translation, the value of which is increased by numerous notes on special points connected with natural history, etc.

I conclude with some criticisms. P. 1, l. 9: "He gave to animals sensation and motion, that they may seek their food according to بدل ما يتحلل". This phrase, which is left untranslated, means "in compensation for what is dissolved", i.e. for waste caused by the bodily secretions. Cf. *Firdawsu 'l-Hikmat*, ed. Ṣiddīqī, p 115, 15 f. وكل حي محتاج الى غذآء يقوم مقام ما يتحلل بالشمس والرياح من بدنه اولا فاولا. P. 2, l. 25: Instead of "has proved a felicitous guide" read "is set down here (is quoted) for luck". P 7, l. 2: "Infidels" is not an adequate rendering of ملاحده, which denotes the Ismā'īlīs and particularly the "Assassins". P. 12, last line: "There is a friendship between the snake and the ibex; and if the ibex's horn and the snake's tail be burnt, and the ashes rubbed on the sole of the foot, one will feel no distress even after long walking." Since it has previously been stated that the ibex is the enemy of the snake, the editor suggests that دوستی is a slip for دشمنی. But does not the sense of the passage imply that some kind of occult or magical sympathy was supposed to exist between the two animals? P. 22, l. 5 from foot: For "application to the eye" read "suppository". شياف has both meanings (see Dozy, *Supplément*). P. 29, l. 9: "It is an ugly and dirty animal." The translator owes an apology to the bear for these epithets, neither of which occurs in the text. He reads اطلس و (*sic*) انز, the last word

being an emendation, but Ḥamdullāh wrote انزوا طلب, "seclusion-seeking". So Damīrī says الدب يحب العزلة, i e. it retires into its den for the purpose of hibernation. P. 78, l. 8 from foot For "flat" read "smooth". The point is that the young eaglets have nothing on which they can lay hold to prevent themselves from falling. The author adds, "but notwithstanding their small size, they محس باشند and elect to rest quietly rather than to move about." Colonel Stephenson alters محس, which is the reading of the best MSS, to مُحَشّ, an uncommon word meaning "bold during the night", and translates by "they have no fear" Surely the correct reading is مُحِسّ, i e the eaglets are endowed with a sense (instinct) of self-preservation. P. 88, note: "The Shaikhu-r-Ra'īs" is a title by which Ibn Sīnā is often designated

R. A. Nicholson.

Falakī-i-Shirwānī His Times, Life, and Works By Hādī Ḥasan James G Forlong Fund, vol. vi 10½ × 7, pp. 96 London. Royal Asiatic Society, 1929. 12*s* 6*d*

This book of 96 pages is the introduction to the author's forthcoming edition of the *Dīwān* of Falakī, a panegyrist of the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II (514–44 A H). It begins with a careful account, based on numismatic as well as literary evidence, of the history and chronology of the Shāhs of Shirwān in the sixth century of the Hijra. Themselves weak and obscure, they derive a certain lustre from their connection with two great Persian poets, Niẓāmī, who dedicated his *Laylā and Majnūn* to Akhsatān I, and Khāqānī, who was Falakī's contemporary, and in the elegy which he wrote on his death called him "a sneeze of my lawful magic", meaning in plain prose "my pupil in the art of poetry". If the exhaustive research undertaken by Dr. Hādī Ḥasan

has not produced a great deal in the shape of facts concerning Falakī himself, it has added very considerably to our knowledge of the literary history of the period. He shows by means of an ingenious deduction from passages in the *Dīwān* that the poet died, not in 577 A.H. as has hitherto been supposed but nearly forty years earlier, after having been released from a fortress in which he was interned by his royal patron; and several other long-established errors are decisively corrected. The *Dīwān* of Falakī, which contains little over a thousand couplets, is extant in a unique MS. at Munich. Taking this as the basis of his text, the editor has supplemented it by a thorough examination of anthologies, lexicons, treatises on prosody, and works on general literature. One might perhaps wish that he had expended so much labour on a writer more conspicuous for merit and interest, but he has worked all round the subject, and there can be no doubt that the result is an exceptionally fine contribution to the critical study of Persian poetry. The two illustrations reproduce a *mustazād* by Falakī and a page containing a reference to him in the *Dīwān* of Ẓahīru'd-Dīn Shufurwah from MSS. in the British Museum and the India Office. I have observed only two mistakes: تغج for تلغج and Arion for Orion, both on p. 21.

R. A. NICHOLSON

THE MATHNAWĪ OF JALĀLU'D-DĪN RŪMĪ. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation, and commentary, by R. A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. Vol. III, containing the text of the Third and Fourth Books. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, IV 3. 10 × 6½, xxxi + 64 + 510 pp. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. 30s.

Three volumes of this great work by Professor Nicholson have now appeared, and both author and printers (Messrs. Brill of Leiden) are to be congratulated on the excellence

of this third volume. Professor Nicholson's Introduction is of singular interest. When he published the text of the first two books he explained why he preferred certain manuscripts. His text of Book I is based on manuscript C—an early fourteenth century copy belonging to the British Museum—that of Book II on manuscript D—a Munich copy dated A H 706 (A D. 1307) These manuscripts, although old and good, are not of pre-eminent authority. Professor Nicholson chose them because, for reasons which he gives, he considered other manuscripts to show signs of corruption and alteration of what was probably the poet's original text. Now, however, by a singular piece of good fortune, he has obtained manuscripts written so soon after Jalālu'd-dīn's death that there is no question as to their superiority. Accordingly the text now published is, as to Book III up to line 2835 that of manuscript H, and as to the rest of Book III and the whole of Book IV that of manuscript G. H is a manuscript in private possession in Constantinople; it was written in A.H. 687, and is said to have been read to Jalālu'd-dīn. G is preserved in the museum attached to Jalālu'd-dīn's "Turba" at Qōniya; it was written in A H. 677 and is said to be a copy of a corrected and emended archetype that was read to the author and his friend Ḥusāmu'd-dīn. As Jalālu'd-dīn died in A H. 672, it is clear that these two manuscripts give us a text of unusual trustworthiness.

Variations in the text of the Mathnawī can be roughly divided into two main classes—changes due to later copyists and differences which *may* be due to alterations made in the original poem by the poet himself The Mathnawī is, in places, not very polished verse; its rhymes often offend; it is not very difficult to emend them so as to avoid obvious breaches of rules Moreover, its meaning is constantly obscured by excessive conciseness, and may be explained by the addition of a line or two. Thus changes and additions have been made only too frequently by ingenious copyists. But what are we to say to differences in reading occurring in manuscripts

so early that copyists had little time to work their wicked will upon them? Professor Nicholson suggests that the first copies of the poems—or at least of its earlier books—were corrected and published during the poet's lifetime or soon after his death. Whether Jalālu'd-dīn himself made or approved of these corrections cannot be said. But he may well have done so. Fitzgerald's extensive alterations to his own original version of the Rubā'īyāt show how far a poet *can* go in this direction.

The text has been remarkably well printed. The list of errata cannot be called long. There are ninety-three corrections to Book III—4810 lines—and only thirty-eight to Book IV—3855 lines. And most of them are very trivial, such as addition or omission of an *iḍāfat*. Very few additional mistakes have been revealed by a careful perusal of the text. In case they may be useful to Professor Nicholson they are noted here:—

Book III.	l. 839, for	نوفيق	read	توفيق
	p. 122, heading, for	دقوى	,,	دقوق
	l. 3200, for	يبان	,,	بيان
	l. 3613, for	استيزة	,,	استيزه
	l. 3710, for	مقصدس	,,	مقصدش
	l. 3886, for	يآماسد	,,	بآماسد
	p. 257, heading, for	حقّد	,,	حقّيد
Book IV.	l. 305, for	ثو	read	تو
	l. 377, for	سنحد	,,	سنجد
	p. 435, heading, for	غژبد	,,	غژيد
	l. 2771, for	ان	,,	آن
	l. 3816, for	كى	,,	كنى
	l. 3843, for	يقش	,,	نقش

There are some cases where the reading looks questionable, though perhaps the manuscript authority may be conclusive. The following are noted:—

Book III. l. 130, لُبد may perhaps be لَبد (wool).

l. 919, اندر ضمان may perhaps be اندر زمان

l. 2567, رُسته may perhaps be رَسته

l. 4731, and Book IV, l. 187; should we not read either ردبان or ناودان in both places—*preferably the former?*

Book IV l. 319, گفتیم may perhaps be کفتیم

l. 1657, زخالِ مردهٔ زنده may perhaps be زحالِ مرده زندهٔ

l. 2557, خانه کِرِی may perhaps be خانه گری

l 2864, کوریِٔ افزون روانِ *may perhaps be* کوری افزونِ روانِ

l. 3783, هست دیون محاسب *may perhaps be* هست دیوانِ محاسب

In Book IV, l. 2997, the curious form هایدّه occurs twice. The Arabic termination in ة is sometimes written ه, for example in the *ḥadīth* quoted in Book IV, l. 1420—اَهْلُ اَلْجَنَّه

All students of Persian are awaiting with interest the next volume, which is to contain the translation of Books III and IV, and still more the commentary and explanatory notes. The Mathnawī is by no means easy to translate, for words and phrases meet one on every page presenting difficulty. But much harder is it to grasp the real meaning which

Jalālu'd-dīn intended to convey to his hearers. Take such a simple example as the famous lines beginning:

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم وز نما مردم به حیوان سرزدم

The poet deals with this idea more than once; thus:

آمده اوّل باقلیم جماد وز جمادی در نباتی اوفتاد

What does he really mean? Speaking for myself, I look forward with impatience to Professor Nicholson's remarks on this and many another difficult passage. The Ṣūfīs of Jalālu'd-dīn's time lived in a world of ideas so different from our own that few of us can really appreciate and sympathize with their thoughts and their beliefs. If any modern scholar can understand the mind of a great Muslim mystic of the Middle Ages, it is Professor Nicholson.

Perhaps the scheme of the Gibb Memorial Series hardly allows of one suggestion. The late Professor Browne told us that the Mathnawī was "poetry of a very high order". The translation of Books I and II is adequate as to the words. But Professor Nicholson has shown us in his *Selected Poems from the Dīwān-i-Shams-i-Tabrīz* how he can also *translate the spirit and reflect the poetry of Jalālu'd-dīn. Could he not do something like this for the Mathnawī too?*

C. N. S.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARĀT, *Zafar ul-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih.* By 'ABDALLĀH MUHAMMAD *bin* 'OMAR AL-MAKKĪ AL-ĀṢAFĪ, ULUGHKHĀNĪ. Vol. III. Edited by SIR E. DENISON ROSS (Indian Texts Series). 9¼ × 6, pp. cxv + 42 + 215. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1929. 7*s*, 6*d*.

This is the third and last volume of the text of this most valuable work, the unique holograph manuscript of which Sir E. Denison Ross discovered in the library of the Calcutta Madrasah. The importance of his discovery can hardly be over-rated. The book is primarily a history of Gujarāt and

is a most valuable and independent account of that state and its rulers, but the author branches off into the history of practically all other Muslim states in India, Jaunpūr, the Deccan, Mālwa, Khāndesh, Bengal, and Dihlī. For the history of the small state of Khāndesh Ḥājjī ad-Dabīr, as the author is commonly styled, is the only authority besides Firishta, and he gives us much information which supplements Firishta's brief account, and much more which explains it. His history of the Bahmanids, and of the dynasties which succeeded them in the Deccan, and of Muslim dynasties in all parts of India, also contains much which enables the searcher after historical truth to supplement and correct accounts given by other historians.

The editor explains in his introductions to the three volumes the difficulties, neither few nor light, of the task of editing the text of Ḥājjī ad-Dabīr, of which, however, he has acquitted himself with conspicuous success Most valuable and interesting additions to the text of the work are the subject-index, the notes, and the three appendices, but the most important is the biographical and geographical index. The importance of this index and the difficulty of compiling it are explained by the editor in his introduction to volume ii. "One great cause of confusion to the reader throughout this history (he might have added, every Indian history) is the author's practice of referring to the leading *dramatis personae* by their titles only, without reference to their other names; and seeing that many of these titles were always borne by some one, and were indeed sometimes held by two or more individuals concurrently, the result is often most bewildering." Sir E. Denison Ross has carefully examined each mention of a person by his title, has determined in each case to which holder of the title the entry refers, and has given in his index the personal name, as well as the title, of the person mentioned, with references to the pages in which he is mentioned. The difficulty of this task, and the immense labour which it has involved can be estimated only by students of original works

on Indian history, and the result of the editor's labours is that this index is not only a guide to those consulting this *particular text, but a work of reference for students of Indian* Muslim history generally, as well as a model for editors of all future works on the same subject. All such students owe a debt of gratitude to Sir E. Denison Ross.

The editor justly complains of the scanty notice which his labours have received. "The fact is," he says, "that Arabic scholars are not as a rule interested in Indian history, while Indian historians are not generally acquainted with Arabic," so that the book has fallen between two stools. The present writer has met students of Indian history who have never heard of Hājjī ad. Dabir, and has been in communication with one such engaged in the translation of an important authority, which deals with the history of Muslim India in general, and that of Gujarāt in particular. This student has been advised to suspend his work until he has carefully studied Hājjī ad. Dabīr, but for the reason given by Sir E. Denison Ross such advice as this is at present fruitless, and our English translation of the text is much to be desired.

A slight error in the introduction to volume I seems hitherto to have escaped notice. Hājjī ad. Dabīr is not consistent in his spelling of place-names, and an instance of this is his spelling of the name of the town Sūrat in two ways, سورت and سرت, but the spelling سورٹه represents the district Sorath (Saurāshtra), not the town.

Sir E. Denison Ross has rendered a great service to all students of Indian history. The text of the valuable work discovered and edited by him is a monument of scholarship and industry, and a mine of historical information

WOLSELEY HAIG.

MATÉRIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICORUM. Deuxième partie, Syrie du Sud. Tome deuxième, Jerusalem, "Ḥaram". Deuxième fascicule. Par MAX VAN BERCHEM. 14¼ × 11, 217—466 pp. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français du Caire. Tome 44. Cairo, 1927.

This fascicule concludes Van Berchem's work on Jerusalem. Short notices of the earlier fascicules have appeared in the *Journal* as they came out, and a general view may be taken here of the whole It forms a separate book in three volumes, the third volume containing the plates having been published before the other two. An index is still wanting, but is promised.

The existing Islamic monuments of Jerusalem that are earlier than the Christian kingdom of the sixth/twelfth century consist of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣâ mosque and one or two other buildings and remains in the Ḥaram sanctuary. A few detached fragments of this period from the sanctuary and others from the town itself or from its neighbourhood are preserved also. Both in the town and in the Ḥaram there are numbers of monuments still standing that date from the recapture of Jerusalem from the Crusaders onwards to modern times Van Berchem brings together a comprehensive collection of inscriptions from these objects, consisting of all that he was able to see himself, and he adds any other Islamic inscriptions from Jerusalem of which he could find a record. He is careful to warn the reader that his collection is not complete and he points to places where additions may be looked for, but it does not seem likely that they would be many or of much importance. In any case, only a small proportion of his inscriptions have been published before. The series includes about 300 items and starts in the Umaiyad period, extending over the remainder of the Islamic epoch, but for a gap in the sixth–twelfth century, due to the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem Most of the inscriptions are architectural, but there are a few of a different

kind, such as decrees, title deeds, epitaphs, and grafitti. The substance of the record is usually brief, the bulk of the inscription generally consisting of titles and formulas.

To this collection Van Berchem adds a commentary in the usual form of a separate article on each inscription dealing with the various points of interest as they arise. It contains justifications of the texts and translations, and every aid that could be required by the reader. But the commentary does not stop at verifying and explaining the inscriptions; it also looks to what can be learnt from their evidence when it is taken in conjunction with the other evidence available. Enquiries of this description and general observations constitute the chief part of the commentary and form its text, the critical apparatus and minor points being relegated to notes. The monuments to work on which inscriptions relate are described so far as is necessary for the purpose of the author. The descriptions are generally detailed and are often illustrated by plans and drawings. The plates include views and details of several of the monuments, besides reproductions of all the principal inscriptions.

The book affords an excellent view of the progress of the Arabic monumental script at Jerusalem, from the plain Kufic of the Umaiyads to the transition to the rounded character and thence to the modern forms; and it would hardly be possible to follow the same development at any other place so fully and with so little interruption. Details of interest to palæography are noted regularly and commented on.

Van Berchem's interpretation of the inscriptions, which is most careful and thorough—nothing that offers the least difficulty being passed unnoticed—produces a good deal that is of general value for language, for he demonstrates precisely the meaning of numbers of words and expressions particularly administrative and technical terms, and he notes all peculiarities such as departures from grammar that have philological significance.

The decrees that have been referred to nearly all belong to the ninth/fifteenth century, and relate to the abolition of exactions. There are some ten of them and they are obviously valuable historical documents. Hardly any of the other inscriptions could well be described as historical, but many of them have a historical bearing and Van Berchem searches systematically for all the historical light they yield. This means comparing historical notices with the epigraphical records, tracing personages mentioned in the inscriptions, and looking into their circumstances, noting variations in style and formulæ, detecting allusions, and so forth, and arriving at conclusions that sometimes require close reasoning. Some idea of the completeness with which this part of the subject is handled may be given by particular examples: all that is recorded about the demarcation of roads under the Umaiyads is reviewed in order to show the significance of the well-known milestones of ʻAbd el Malik and for the bearing of the title *hadra* on the date of an inscription, a full view of the usage as to this title in different parts of the Islamic dominions is furnished. Van Berchem's historical deductions from a few tombstones and other detached fragments show what it is possible to derive from the most hopeless looking material.

The new historical fact that is produced by these investigations does not amount to more than a little about the doings of Salâh ed Dîn and his successors and a few indications as to the administration, the position of individuals, and various other matters, one of which is the claims of the Ottomans to the Khalifate. A constant check on the accuracy of the Arab historians is obtained and alone would repay all the trouble taken The writers generally come out with credit, and Mujîr ed Dîn, author of the standard chronicle of Jerusalem *Uns el Jalîl*, proves to be particularly reliable.

The inscriptions give a good number of topographical facts and signs. They are followed up with the aid of the

geographers, medieval travellers, and others, and many useful results are obtained, often after long and elaborate enquiries. The principal ones relate to the walls, citadel, and aqueducts and to the Haram. Some curious instances are shown of the way in which legends spring up and names travel from shrine to shrine.

There are few Islamic monuments of any consequence in Jerusalem that are not dated directly by inscriptions. Some of the madrasas and other buildings later than the sixth/twelfth century are remarkable for their beauty or for other characteristics. Van Berchem points out the *features which are of special interest for the history of architecture, e.g. the early use of the cruciform plan and modifications of it, the square minarét,* some constructional peculiarities, the *Latin* elements, sometimes taken from Latin buildings bodily and sometimes imitations of Latin models, so frequent in the Muhammadan buildings of Jerusalem later than its recapture from the crusaders. As a rule no developments since the foundation of the buildings seem to have occurred and it is only in the Haram that there are buildings which have been altered and restored at intervals extending over a long time. The inscriptions of the Aqṣâ mosque, of which the earliest known (but no longer in existence) belonged to the reign of El Ma'mûn, become continuous after the sixth/thirteenth century, and the way in which they elucidate various problems with regard to its architecture, its mosaics and other details connected with it, is discussed.

The Dome of the Rock has a line of inscriptions longer and more complete than El Aqṣâ. The result of Van Berchem's researches here is virtually a history of the monument in the light of its inscriptions. A great deal of new evidence is produced; besides the numerous inscriptions published for the first time, there are reliable reconstructions of inscriptions on the windows and elsewhere, one or two dates previously unnoticed, such as that of the tiling of the octagon, arguments

on important problems founded on a strict consideration of the language. The existing mosaics are analysed and compared with one another and with examples elsewhere, a very difficult problem of decipherment in one of them has been solved, adding considerably to our knowledge. All that is known of the vanished mosaics of the exterior has been collected.

Van Berchem succeeds in proving that the object of several of the inscriptions was to take possession of buildings, as it were, so as to obtain their good auguries. This curious fact, well worth demonstrating, gives a clue to the well-known substitutions of El Ma'mûn at the Dome of the Rock. To be noticed are his discussions of the length of the Umaiyad *mîl*, and the cubit and of Mamluk heraldry, all starting from epigraphical data

Any one who examines the book will be impressed by its extraordinary thoroughness Remarkable are the regularity of its method, and the great care for accuracy evident throughout and particularly conspicuous in recording the inscriptions, the abundance of the evidence that has been brought together by the author by means of his wide knowledge of his subject and by his untiring search in all the sources open to him, the acuteness of his observation and the clearness and fairness of his exposition References are given throughout and the authority for every statement can be seen at once

The amount of useful information on many different matters that is afforded incidentally is another notable feature and extends the value of the book far beyond its immediate theme.

Some idea of the immense labour that the book represents can be obtained from a list of authorities consulted which is given in one of the volumes. It covers some twenty-four pages, and contains several hundred items, including unpublished MSS. as well as books and serial publications. In it are to be found the oriental sources, such as Arab historians and geographers who treat of Jerusalem, and the occidental ones—

the accounts of medieval pilgrims and travellers and also modern European writers on the place. The list is limited to works cited in Van Berchem's notes under abbreviated titles, others being cited also under full titles. Van Berchem's labour would have been much less, if he had restricted himself to original sources, but he took the trouble of going through translations and other secondary authorities, so that those unacquainted with Arabic could check his statements.

At an early stage of his career Van Berchem realized the importance of Arabic archæology and the aid that its study could give to the history of the manners, ideas, and civilization of Muslims. He saw how epigraphy could be made to serve this object, notwithstanding that many of the inscriptions that exist have little interest in themselves. He laid down principles for dealing with them even before the first volume of the Matériaux had appeared, containing his plan for a Corpus of Arab inscriptions. He devoted himself to Arab epigraphy and had long been acknowledged as its greatest exponent, being consulted and receiving constant communications about it from all parts. The reputation he had acquired and the general esteem in which he was held were strikingly shown by the tribute paid to his memory by numerous distinguished scholars on his decease in 1921. Shortly before it had seemed that the project for a complete Corpus was in a fair way towards being realized, but now it is to be feared that it will not be carried much beyond the point at which he left it eight years ago. "Jerusalem" represents a perfection of his method as the result of experience and the advance he had made is evident when "Jerusalem" is compared with his excellent work on Cairo. From "Jerusalem" one can see that the most insignificant inscription of antiquity is always worth collecting, for it can always be made to yield something useful.

It seems impossible to imagine anything that could be done to make an epigraphical research more productive, and

it is satisfactory that Van Berchem was able to complete this book as a model for others to follow.

Professor Wiet undertook the arduous task of seeing the book through the Press after the printing had only just begun, and has carried it out in a way that deserves general gratitude

A. R. GUEST.

MAQRÎZÎ · EL MAWÂ'IZ WA'L- I'TIBÂR FÎ DHIKR EL-KHIṬAṬ WA'L ATHAR. Arabic text edited by M GASTON WIET. Vol V, fascicule premier 14 × 11. pp 184. In Memoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire Tome 53. Cairo, 1927.

This instalment of Professor Wiet's magnificent edition of el Khiṭaṭ contains the history of Egypt from the Arab conquest to the end of the reign of the Tulunids and includes an account of the town of Fustât and its outlying districts el 'Askar and el Qaṭâ'i'. Maqrîzî introduces most of the topographical chapters with some instructive remarks of his own, but the rest of this part of his book is almost entirely a compilation from earlier writers, whose statements are sometimes abbreviated and sometimes reproduced word for word, the sources being sometimes indicated and sometimes not shown. The compilation is useful because of the amount of scattered information that it brings together, and, moreover, though the originals of most of the extracts of which it is formed are still in existence, it does preserve some passages that would otherwise have been lost. One that is important is the account of the foundation of Fusṭât, which Professor Wiet shows to have come originally from the Khitaṭ of el Kindî. Another that is more striking is the celebrated description of the garden of Khumârawaih, with its curious and doubtless authentic details of the plantations, the house of gold and its decorations including the painted effigies of Khumârawaih and his favourite women, the lion house, and the lions.

This passage is presumably derived from the almost contemporary Ibn ed Dâya.

In his notes Professor Wiet gives references to the passages which Maqrîzî has taken from extant writers and also to modern books or publications in which any part of Maqrîzî's text has been translated or discussed. He deals with any difficulty that the text offers and further he includes matter that is likely to be useful, such as the names of the directors of finance in Egypt collected by him from various sources. He has succeeded in identifying numbers of persons and places, in correcting several errors of his predecessors, and in solving various other problems. His work has been done most carefully, and will be indispensable to students of the history of the Arabs in Egypt

A. R. Guest.

Kitâb eḍ Ḍakhîra fî 'ilm eṭ tibb (the treasury of medicine). By Thâbit ibn Qurra. Edited by Dr G Sobhy, Assistant Professor of Medicine, Egyptian University. 11 × 7 pp. 186 Arabic text + 43 English and English and Arabic. Cairo: Government Press, 1928

This is a concise guide to therapeutics, undertaking, as stated in its opening sentence, "to describe malady and its remedy as tersely as can be done" It goes through the whole range of illnesses and ailments in separate chapters, dealing with their causes and with the appropriate treatment Only a very few of the authors of medical works in Arabic, which have reached us flourished before Thâbit ibn Qurra, so that if this book is rightly ascribed to him, it would have a special interest. The question how far it shows any additions to Greek medicine would be of particular importance. That it is based largely on Galen appears from the frequency with which he is cited. The author also quotes Hippocrates fairly often and various other authorities occasionally.

But is the book really the work of Thâbit ibn Qurra, who has been described as the great mathematician,

philosopher, and physician of the third–ninth century, one of the greatest figures among the promoters of Arab learning of the time? It seems certain that it is not. It is *true that at the end of a list of the books composed by Thâbit* which is handed down by el Qifṭî one finds the following: "There is also in current circulation an excellent Arabic *compendium known as eḍ Dakhîra and ascribed to Thâbit." Dr Sobhy refers to this statement as a proof of Thâbit's authorship, but he has failed to notice that immediately* afterwards the author of the list mentions that he had asked Thâbit ibn Sinân whether Thâbit ibn Qurra was the author of the compendium and had been answered that he was not. Against such evidence, the inclusion of Eḍ Dakhîra by Ibn Abî Uṣaibi'a among the works of Thâbit ibn Qurra has no weight.

Thâbit ibn Sinân, who was the grandson of Thâbit ibn Qurra, died in 365–976. Eḍ Dakhîra, therefore, must date from at least as early But if Ibn Sînâ (b 370–980) is mentioned in the present version of Eḍ Ḍakhîra, the book cannot have reached us in its original form Dr. Sobhy, in his introduction, includes Ibn Sînâ among the authors who seem to have been consulted for Eḍ Ḍakhîra since their names constantly occur in it In the absence of an index, it has not been found possible to verify this statement, or, indeed, to discover any reference to Ibn Sînâ in the book.

In any case, this version of Eḍ Dakhîra is of considerable antiquity and was well worth bringing out. It is produced from a unique seventh–thirteenth century MS. The text appears to be very good. The printing and turn out leave nothing to be desired. Dr Sobhy supplies a useful introduction in English and a carefully compiled glossary containing English equivalents of all Arabic technical terms and names of drugs that appear in the book. The glossary by itself is a work of much value.

A. R. Guest.

Khiṭaṭ esh Shâm. By Muhammad Kurd 'Ali Vol. 5. 11 × 8, 308 + 4 pp. Damascus, 1927.

The four earlier volumes of this large Arabic work on the history and geography of Syria have been noticed in the *Journal*. It is now announced that the history will be completed in a sixth volume to be published soon and the gazetteer, which it is hoped to bring out afterwards with maps and illustrations, will require three or four volumes more. The civil history, which is the subject of the present volume, is carried down to the time of publication. Under the main heading are grouped the army, the navy, revenue and taxation, trusts and charities (*waqfs*), municipal administration, canals, harbours and communications, posts, telegraphs and telephones, and ancient monuments. The accounts of the various institutions are general for the most part, but they bring together a number of useful details. including some extracts from historians. If the historical surveys are a little disappointing, particularly as regards the early developments under Islam to which attention naturally turns, it has to be remembered that in the present state of historical research it would hardly be possible to make them satisfying. Particulars of the introduction and extension of railways and some other modern inventions in Syria are given. The book will be useful as a guide to Syria. It is doubtless intended primarily for the general reader.

A. R. Guest.

Documents Inédits d'Histoire Almohade. Publiés et traduits . . . par E. Lévi-Provençal. (Textes arabes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Occident musulman, Vol. I.) 10 × $6\frac{1}{2}$. xii + 272 + ١٥٢ pp., 2 maps. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

The exhaustive researches which M. Lévi-Provençal and his colleagues have carried out in the libraries of North Africa and Spain, have been rewarded by the discovery of several

works of the first importance for the history of Islam in Spain and the West. The present volume, the first to be published in this new series, contains, as the title indicates, a number of miscellaneous documents, which were found grouped together in a neglected manuscript at the Escorial M. Lévi-Provençal has not only published the texts, but, maintaining the best traditions of French scholarship, has supplied in addition an excellent translation and a wealth of illuminating annotation, together with a glossary, indices, and maps.

Of the three sections of the book, the first consists of letters from the Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart, and his Khalīfa 'Abd al-Mu'min, exhorting their followers in the precepts of their religion, and threatening the Almoravids and their partisans. Though there are indications that some of them at least are forgeries, the uncompromising and puritanical tone of the letters illustrates in vivid fashion the spirit of these early reformers, so closely resembling the Wahhābīs of our own time. The second contains the abridgement of a work on the genealogies and tribal affiliations of the Almohads, which is of technical value for its precise information The third and longest section (pp. 50–133 of the text), on the other hand, is a work of peculiar interest The author, Abū Bakr b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣanhājī, nicknamed al-Baydhaq ("the pawn"), was one of the three disciples who accompanied the Mahdī from the very outset of his mission. The editor has been unable to identify him more closely; in the introduction he suggests that he may have been a brother of the famous 'Umar Āṣnāg, and elsewhere (p. 44, n. 4) that he may have been a nephew of the Mahdī himself. He always speaks of himself as the muleteer of the Mahdī, in whom he had the most childlike faith, and was evidently content to play a very modest part in the Almohad movement. In simple language, without pretence or artifice, he relates what he himself saw and took part in of the movements of the Mahdī and his successor, together with a summary of their military expeditions. As the narrative of a first-hand witness, his testimony, though

often in contradiction with the statements of the later historians, deserves, it would seem, the fullest credence, and has indeed already been utilized by M. Gaudefroy-Desmombynes. In dealing with events in which he had no personal share, however, al-Baydhaq is brief and abrupt, and I am inclined to agree with the editor's suspicion (p. 206 note) *that the conclusion of the work is a hasty compilation* by another hand.

The *task* of *translating* these documents offers *peculiar difficulties here and there, partly owing to some uncertainty about the exact sense of several terms, especially in the* letters of Ibn Tūmart, and partly because of the colloquial and at times un-Arabic phraseology of their Berber-speaking authors There are, in fact, throughout the work a number of sentences in Berber which M. Lévi-Provençal has left untranslated. Nevertheless his success in producing an intelligible translation of even the most obscure passages deserves to be signalized, and there are comparatively few places where his renderings are definitely, in my opinion, open to correction.

P. 5: "celui qui combat"; read "he who is slain" (من قتل)

P. 11: "le mensonge n'est réservé qu'à ceux . . .", the sense seems to be "[God has made manifest their artifices] and likewise (their) falsehood, except to those who . . ."

P. 13: "par qui je vous recommande"; والذى نوصيكم به in the text is the beginning of a new sentence, "Now that which I commend to you."

P. 17: "Comme ils sont les plus perdus . . . Allāh m'a ordonné": I take اذا as an exclamation "and lo, they are . . ." and الله as the beginning of a new sentence.

P. 29: "on lui mettra sous la plante des pieds un charbon": the original expression is much more realistic, "he shall be shod with sandals of fire."

P. 37: "Ces gens qui pratiquent sans défaillance ce qui

est licite " is a somewhat unlikely rendering of [ومن مرّة] اهل الحلال الموطّد Read probably اهل الحلال الموطد " they of old-established glory "

P. 38: " homme des combats " the popular sense of ملاحم (prophecies, etc, especially those relating to the Mahdī) can hardly be overlooked in the interpretation of the verse

P. 46, paragraph 2. the text implies rather "but in the case of all those throughout the land of Egypt who . . . , the Mahdī preferred "

P 80 The translation " Le croyant mange des dattes et l'infidèle boit du vin " seems to miss the point of the anecdote While the sale of wine by infidels is lawful, what angers the Mahdī is finding Muslims so engaged, for which reason he spills it all out, exclaiming المؤمن تمّار والكافر خمّار i.e " The believer is a seller of dates, the infidel a seller of wine "

P 103: " quand Allāh décrêtait une chose, elle ne se faisait que par lui ". read " in order that Allāh should bring to pass a matter which was decreed ", referring to the capture of Fez, related on p. 166.

P. 130 " les tālibs des Ganfīsa étaient absents ". the text has طلبت, " the Ganfīsa were searched for, being absent."

P. 134 " Quel subterfuge employer alors ? Laisser de côté tout subterfuge " · more probably " What is to be done then ? Avoid all subterfuge." The Mahdī seizes on the word حيلة, quite innocently used by the questioner, and applies it in its disparaging sense A few lines below there is a similar play upon words in the phrase لا تبردوا صيفة ولا تفتروا شتوة, where the editor translates. " Ne faites pas de l'été l'hiver et de l'hiver l'été." In this case the Mahdī, enjoining his followers to engage in warlike activities without intermission, says whimsically, " Let not your ardour be chilled for a single summer nor lukewarm a single winter."

Pp. 167–8: It is not clear why ميز is differently translated in three contiguous passages: "il passa les Almohades en revue" (ميز الموحدين), "il y leva de nouvelles troupes" (ميز فيها), and "où il passa ses troupes en revue" (again ميز فيها).

H. A. R. GIBB.

L'ISLAM. Manuale delle Credenze ed Istituzioni Musulmane. DI HENRI LAMMENS, S.J. Traduzione e appendice di Ruggiero Ruggieri 9 × 6. xix, 278 pp. Bari, 1929. L. 20.

Père Lammens' original work appeared in 1926 at Beyrouth, and has recently been translated into English by Sir Denison Ross. After introductory chapters on "The Cradle of Islam—pre-Islamic Arabia" and on Muḥammad, the book goes on to deal in separate chapters with the Qur'ān, the *Sunna*, the Jurisprudence and Laws of Islam, Asceticism and Mysticism in Islam, and Reformers and Modernists. The subjects are dealt with clearly, concisely, and, on the whole, adequately.

In the world of reality, beliefs and institutions are inseparable from the people who hold or perpetuate them; the personal element intrudes and modifies the doctrine or theory propounded by the original teacher. The present work concerns itself for the most part with the "theory" of Islam as based on the Qur'ān, the *Sunna*, and the law-books. But it also deals with the modifications introduced into the religion by the various societies that adopted it and became "sects". It is in this part of the work that a certain inadequacy appears, and there is a lack both of original presentation and of due proportion. The time has come to recognize that Shī'ism is entitled, by the history of its origins, to equal treatment with Sunnism instead of being relegated among the "sects". The author, however, has followed the

orthodox method and does not even make it clear that *Shī'a* is a name used by the Sunnīs, and that the Shī'ites have their own names for themselves, either *Ithn 'Ashariya* or *Ja'fariya*, or, in India, sometimes *Tīnvārī*, the followers of the "Three" ('Alī, Hasan, and Husayn, as opposed to the *Chāryārī*, or followers of the "Four" Caliphs. In the matter of proportion, more space is devoted to the various sects—Zaydīs, Isma'īlīs, Druses, and Nuṣayrīs—than to Shī'ism, though it is perhaps natural that a French work should pay a good deal of attention to the beliefs of peoples who figure prominently in French "mandated" territory. The Italian translation which we have before us endeavours to restore the balance by a long appendix (pp. 204–22) on the Sanūsīs who are mainly to be found in Italy's African domains. Apart from a page on the Khōjas, the "peculiar" Muslims of India, Central Asia, China, and Java receive no attention.

In addition to the appendix on the Sanūsīs, the Italian translation is provided with others on recent events in the world of Islam, and with statistics—culled mainly from L. Massignon's *Annuaire du Monde Mussulman* (1925)—of the numbers of Muslims in the various regions of the world. The translator also has prefaced his work with an appreciation of the life and work of Père Lammens. (It seems a pity, incidentally, that the author's carefully preserved ideal of scholarly detachment should not have been maintained always by the translator, who at times in his appendices (e.g. pp. 192 ff. and p. 203) too clearly indicates his national and ecclesiastical sympathies.)

The Italian translation is well printed, and is provided, like the original, with a short vocabulary, an up-to-date bibliography, and an index, in addition to the appendices. It should prove a useful and convenient work of reference.

R. LEVY.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES. Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshuni. Edited and translated with a Critical Apparatus by A. MINGANA, with Introductions by RENDEL HARRIS. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. 332 pp. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1928. 10s 6d.

These "Studies" are reprinted, for the benefit of a wider public, from the half-yearly *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Dr Mingana promises a catalogue of his documents and an account of their collection. They were amassed at intervals but especially in the course of a journey to the Near East, undertaken in 1925, by the encouragement and material assistance of Dr. Rendel Harris and Mr. Edward Cadbury. This was a wise measure prompted by piety, zeal for learning and compassion for Eastern Christians, harried in and beyond Turkey during the War and after. It is obvious that MSS. treasured from generation to generation are liable to theft or loss on hurried journeys and to depredation and destruction if left behind in buildings to be ruined by Turks or Kurds. An instance of this danger is the valuable "Apology of Timothy I Patriarch of the Eastern Church A.D. 780–823", Fasc. 3 of *Woodbrooke Studies* This MS. copied at Alkosh some few years ago and collated by Dr Mingana has since been destroyed by Kurds. The Vatican Library possesses a copy; but it is here published for the first time. We congratulate Dr. Mingana on securing this work and many other survivals.

These MSS. are now made fully available for study, first in the case of Fasc. 1 and 3 by rotography of beautiful, even and thus very clear writing; where the MSS. are less clear rotographic specimens are given and the whole given in good modern Maronite character. Full translations by Dr. Mingana are given and valuable introductions by Dr. Rendel Harris: these combine wide learning with a vivid and playful style full of allusions. In these introductions and in Mingana's numerous footnotes all the references to Ecclesiastical History and to sources which are necessary for elucidation and comparison are fully and abundantly supplied.

Fasc. 1. A treatise of the great Jacobite writer, Dionysius bar-Salibi, Bishop of Mar'ash and Mabbogh 1145. Against the Melchites. It is difficult to revive interest in bygone *controversies, especially on ritual points such as opposed* methods of making the sign of the Cross. The reader is chiefly struck by the fact that in controversies and differences it is needful to insist on outer differences as symbolical of doctrine. *The historical interest continues and the differences between the Monophysite Bishop, the Melchites or Chalcedonians, and the Greek Church are given in well-defined statements and arguments The bishop's plea for instruction in* Church services, i e. for the reading of Bible lessons rather than concentrating on elaborate musical services, is convincingly put

Same Fasc , Part 2 The "Exhortation to the Priesthood" ascribed to Ignatius of Antioch, is of higher order: it is eloquent and upholds a high ideal As regards deacons it descends lower with accusations of ignorance and impiety.

We next come to various apocryphal writings in Garshuni, that is vernacular Arabic written in Syriac script, probably with a view to partial concealment, as Christians, while adopting the language of Mohammedan conquerors, would need to camouflage their treasured books. This popular literature was widely spread MSS. are found far apart, in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia. Their origin appears often to have been Coptic and some may have been translated from Greek or Syriac.

Fasc 2 contains "A Jeremiah Apocryphon" which is evidently related to the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Last Words of Baruch . it has reflections from the Book of Judges, the Four Gospels, the Gospel of the Infancy and the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. A "New Life of John the Baptist" follows It is of Greek or Coptic origin, a pious romance, probably from Alexandria, combining Bible history with many legends of miracles. Next come five Uncanonical Psalms. There must have been very many

psalms whence the CL of our Psalter could be selected. These bring Vol. I of *Woodbrooke Studies* to its close.

The series of apocrypha of Coptic origin written in Garshuni, is continued in the following fasciculi, iv, 4*a* and *b*, both give the name of Gamaliel as their author. "The Lament of the Virgin" elaborates and adds imaginary details to the account of the Entombment, and removal from the sepulchre of our Lord's body It is curious that it is the Blessed Virgin, not Mary Magdalen, who waits in the Garden lamenting the disappearance of her Son's body; it is she who sees the Risen Lord without recognizing Him, who talks with Him and receives teaching and comfort. He is standing among the multitudes whom He has raised from Hades. In one version Mary Magdalen precedes the Blessed Virgin Mary to the Tomb

In both this "Lament of the Virgin" and in the "Martyrdom of Pilate" the Roman Governor is accepted together with his wife, Procula, as almost a believer and quite as a lover of the Saviour. This view starts from an anti-Jewish tendency and takes Pilate as opposed to them. There is little explanation here · but in other apocrypha the process of conversion from Unjust Judge to more or less of a believer is evident. Another Coptic apocryph, the Akhmim Fragment of the Gospel of St. Peter, begins with an allusion to Pilate washing his hands as a plea of innocence (this is accepted) while the Jews and Herod, bribed by the Jews to deliver up the Lord, "did not choose to wash." After the dead body of a son of the Emperor Tiberius has been brought to Jerusalem, placed in the Tomb of the Lord and raised to life, the Emperor makes inquiries, then orders Pilate to be crucified for neglecting to inform him of the Lord Jesus and His miracles.

Fasc. 5. "Vision of Theophilus or The Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt." This is the third book of an apocryphal history of the Virgin and her Son, the fourth being the well-known Gospel of the Infancy: these texts, other than this third book, have been already published.

This part is strongly Monophysite: it is probably by a late Coptic bishop. It is in Syriac, translated from the Arabic and probably embodies local tradition. These five apocrypha have much in common, so we have considered them consecutively. We now return to Fasc. 3, "The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi." Timothy I was Patriarch of the Eastern Church 780–823: the Caliph Mahdi 775–85 was the third Abbasid Caliph, son of Mansur and father of Haroun ar-Rashid. This treatise falls into line with early Christian Apologetics, it is in dialogue form and is an example of fair and temperate controversy.

These notices include Woodbrooke Studies as far as the second half-yearly *Bulletin* for 1929. We shall look forward with interest to see what further treasures may be brought out from Dr. Mingana's store.

J. P. MARGOLIOUTH.

TEMPLE GAIRDNER OF CAIRO. By C E. PADWICK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. ix + 330 pp. London. S.P.C.K., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Canon Gairdner was a man of multiple powers and talents such as might well have made both his life and the reflection of it in his biography confused and shifting. His iron self-discipline enabled him to weld many-sided activities into a complete whole; while the friend of the whole family, his companion in literary labours and now biographer, with her usual clearness of thought and writing has presented us with no tangled skein but an orderly weaving of many-coloured threads into a complete portrait.

Temple Gairdner in his youth seems to have been most attracted by hopes of success in Oxford studies and next to an active life in the English world: this was the aim of the parents who were ambitious for him: he apologizes to them on entering on his high calling.

Classics, one of his first loves, never lost their attraction for him; "I believe half my soul is Greek": he longed to

revive his study of Greek masterpieces with his daughter at Somerville; and "four divine days" at Athens and Salamis, due to the breakdown of a boat at the Piraeus, brought him pure joy.

Miss Padwick draws out well the historical relation of *successive religious movements in Oxford, that of separate* Christian Missions arising from the Evangelical Revival, leading by way of fervour kindled amongst a band of undergraduate friends to the International movement of the Students Christian Movement linking colleges round the globe. Gairdner visited many colleges as travelling secretary. Later, in the same spirit he voiced the needs of Islam and of the relations of the Anglican Communion to the Eastern Churches at the Pan Anglican Congress, 1908, spoke for Islam at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, 1910, and undertook the popular report of it. He helped on preparation for Dr. Mott's Conferences in Eastern Cities, 1924, and for the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, 1928.

Hero-worship of General Gordon at the school-age of eleven, later shared with his friend, Douglas Thornton, directed their thought toward the Sudan, not yet open for missionary work. Both friends were accepted by the C.M.S. in 1927 and sent out to Cairo for work among educated Muslims. The drudgery of elementary school-teaching and the usual countless interruptions baffled them at first, but before six months both ardent students of Arabic were attempting work in it with tremendous labour of preparation. Gairdner's sweet temper and friendliness in discussions sometimes found response and enabled him to press positive teaching in the place of the barren disputations beloved in the East. Before long the friends thought that the meeting of reiterated objections would be best carried on by papers. Some of these were collected as "Egyptian Studies"; some were in aid of other Muslim fields, e.g. for the valuable "Christian Literature Society for India".

Canon Gairdner's outlook was always practical: he saw at the outset the importance of treating the vernacular as a real language. His Grammar of *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* (Heffer, Cambridge) and *The Phonetics of Arabic* (University Press, Oxford) form a valuable new contribution to learning. The one excursion he allowed himself in the realms of pure scholarship to which he was ever strongly attracted was a translation of al-Ghazzali's Sufi treatise, *Mishkat al-Anwar* (The Niche for Lights) this subject was suggested by Professor D B Macdonald of Hartford Theological Seminary. It was published by the Royal Asiatic Society The rest he gave up for the pressing claims of Apologetics and Instruction. He wrote Lives of Bible characters, commentaries on three of the Epistles and a Harmony of the Passion from the Four Gospels. It is hoped to republish some of the more important of his essays on Oriental subjects

The "apostolate through literature" at which he always aimed and towards which he attempted to train newcomers, was after a while taken over by the American Mission.

Temple Gairdner's most original work was his Bible Plays, in Arabic and English in these his strong dramatic powers, his music and his scholarship combined to set forth deep truths in an arresting way. One description must suffice—the Story of Joseph was acted in Arabic in the Church of St Mary in Cairo, the hardly interrupted space of its Byzantine style affording a solemn setting The chancel only was curtained off, the great Cross above the screen was left brooding over the stage, a reminder that the history of Joseph is a type of the sufferings and glory of Christ. This play made deep impression on crowded audiences, many of them Mohammedan and not even "enquirers"

His musical work has not yet come to its full blossom: it is a collection of Egyptian and Syrian airs suitable for use in Christian worship. During his last illness he prepared this for press.

The great problem of our modern, crowded life is the capture

of the essential and rejection of the less important. To Canon Gairdner the immediate object, whether "deputizing", study, music, the drama, friends, boating, his children, was all-absorbing; it was connected with an admirable lack of self-consciousness, he did not so much break engagements as achieve an absolute unconsciousness of them, his immediate circle taking the wise course of being amused at his ways and occasionally offering the apology which would never have occurred to him as called for. This gift of absentmindedness, connected with an innocent directness of outlook, was inherited from his father.

Another characteristic was that Gairdner always seemed to be of the same age. In youth he gave to an acquaintance the impression of a much older and fully formed mind and later one of his undergraduate friends said "He was really about twenty years ahead of us" He continued till his death to look much the same, serious, intent, absent slight, wiry, active. His spirit was youthful, ever ready for new experiences, new light, new interests

J P. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY Edited by J. B. BURY, M.A., F.B.A, S. A. COOK, Litt D, F. E. ADCOCK, M.A. Vol V: Athens, 478–401 B C, pp 554, 9½ × 7, 21*s*. Vol. VI. Macedon, 401–301 B C., pp 648, 9½ × 7, 30*s*. Cambridge University Press, 1927

These two volumes cover a space of close on two centuries, and contain the history of the rise and fall of Athens and the history of the conquest of Persia by Alexander of Macedon. A band of prominent scholars joined forces to give as full a description of this period as modern scholarship and the available sources could provide. With but very few exceptions all these sources are Greek, the reason for which will be touched upon later. A question arises which is not intended to diminish in the slightest degree the great value and importance to be attached to the work of these writers. It is this, whether

history can be written in what may be called an objective manner without bias and without allowing oneself to be carried away by the spirit and passion by the man who handles the subject steeped in it to such an extent as to fully assimilate the spirit of time and men? Here, in any case, we have a definite answer to that question. These scholars have so steeped themselves into the atmosphere of Greece that they can see the events only in the light in which the Greek historian saw them.

We have here a very minute and carefully worked up description of the economic and political life in Athens, of the rise of the drama and of the four great poets, a very vivid description of the "period of illuminations" as it is called, in which the first attempts have been made of philosophical speculations leading up to the death of Socrates. Art, sculpture, and architecture are also carefully treated and a special chapter is devoted to the study of Herodot side by side with Thucydides Of course, the Peloponnesian War plays a prominent part, and the authors of all these very important studies have imbibed so much of the Greek spirit that they did not hesitate to call the great and civilized nations of the East barbarians, adopting the nomenclature given to them by the Greeks, and they even speak of a Greek Empire although it covered only the southern part of the Balkans with a few islands thrown in, like Sicily and others. But there is probably another way of looking at all these events which are portrayed in such a luminous manner. The political outlook of the Greek was limited to the city state, his world was a very small one and his interest self-centred The number of inhabitants of Athens all told was scarcely 200,000, the beginning of all the sudden blossoming out rather obscure, and one feels inclined to doubt the veracity of all these things which the Greeks have been able to palm off on a believing world.

It is characteristic that Herodot was called a liar, although he is perhaps the most truthful of all the writers, whilst Thucydides in modern times might have been a brilliant

war correspondent. This is not intended to lessen the admiration for the wonderful skill and great power of his description of events, true and imaginary, but looking at all these things from the point of view of the Orient one cannot help feeling that something is missing and that is a recognition of the sources and influences which have contributed to this sudden development in all directions which has taken place in Athens in the short space of about seventy years or less. No inquiry is made as to how much of it is due to the direct communication with the Near East and the great civilizations which flourished there for centuries. Modern research, specially the studies on the great civilization of Babylon and of the Hittite Empires so close to the shores of Greece, the discoveries made in ancient Phrygia and Lydia and also in Troy, have all thrown a flood of light on the high state of civilization enjoyed by these nations long before the Greeks.

We turn now to the second volume. Special attention has been paid to the Persian Empire down to the time of Alexander, then the decay of the so-called Greek Empire is minutely described and with it practically all that civilization in Athens, then the ease with which Philip overthrew the Spartan hegomony and Thebes. A special chapter is devoted to the contemporary history of Egypt, its subjugation by Persia, its temporary freedom and final conquest; a chapter is also devoted to the study of Palestine at that time under the Persian Empire and the development which has taken place in the same corner of the Persian Empire destined afterwards to give to the world a new course, into this the results of Biblical higher criticism are embodied.

If we now examine the result of the Macedon or Greek conquest of the Persian Empire, looking at it again, not with the eyes of one who is lost in admiration of the Greek and of Greek achievements, we find here also the reverse of the medal. It seems that the march of the Macedon and Greek soldier is marked by complete and ruthless destruction of the whole ancient civilization, every ancient town seems to have

been razed to the ground, all the literature of which now some traces are coming to light had been ruthlessly destroyed, nothing is left to tell of the great culture of the nations, and in order to remove all the traces everywhere new towns were *planted to take the place of the old and completely destroyed ones* The mounds which cover the ancient Babylonian *and Assyrian Empire were the only means to preserve the remnants of the past.*

All the sources of which these scholars are able to avail themselves were, therefore, of necessity Greek, with the exception of those used in the chapters on Egypt and Palestine, and here also much which is of Greek origin had to be used; the picture, therefore, is somewhat one-sided, but leaving this apart and taking the view of the authors one can only congratulate one and all on the excellent way in which they have carried out their task, and for some time to come it is the most comprehensive and reliable history of that period of Greece and Asia Minor based on solid research, amply documented and also beautifully presented. No better service could be rendered to students of ancient history than the publication of these two volumes, to which another has now followed covering the period of the successors of Alexander and the rise of Rome In spite of some restrictions imposed upon themselves by the authors an extraordinarily rich bibliography arranged according to the chapters of the books is appended to each volume, which are also enriched by a number of maps and plans and excellent indexes.

It is not in the spirit of a critic that one would like to ask whether it would not be possible to issue at the end of the series a comprehensive bibliography arranged not only according to chapters but also according to subjects. This would prove an invaluable guide for any student, it might also form an independent volume and be helpful in other directions. It is merely a suggestion that is thrown out, perhaps those who are responsible for this great undertaking may take it into consideration. M. Gaster.

La Grèce et l'Orient, des Guerres Médiques, la Conquête Romaine. Par Pierre Roussel. 9 × 6, 556 pp. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1928. 50 fr.

Side by side with the *Cambridge Ancient History* one may mention now the smaller volume by Professor Roussel which covers the whole period from the beginning of the conflict between Greece and Persia finishing with the establishment of hellenism after Alexander and the division of his Empire between the Selucides and Lagides. The shadowy monarchy of Antigonos in Greece is slightly touched upon. The book forms part of a series of publications on general history of which this is one special volume. It is divided into four sections. The first deals with the conflict as already mentioned, the second is devoted to a description of what is also called here the Athenian Empire, in the same grandiloquent style as the Greeks call the Athenian state, the period of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war are included in it. In the third the hegonomy of Sparta, the battle against the barbarians, the internecine struggles between Athens, Sparta and Thebes and the advent of Philip of Macedon are all recorded, in the fourth we have the conquest of the Orient by Alexander, his death and the dismemberment of his Empire.

At the end of each of these sections a chapter is devoted to a brief description of the civilization which flourished in Greece from time to time during those varying periods. Though he attempts to examine the events described in the Greek literature with a critical eye, the author none the less cannot escape the Greek influence altogether. At the beginning of each chapter a list of books is given which the reader is advised to consult thus avoiding the necessity of giving a comprehensive bibliography at the end, there are also occasional explanatory footnotes.

The author is already acquainted with the *Cambridge Ancient History* and quite abreast with all modern researches concerning Greek history.

The book is written in the usual elegant French style with

that lucid diction which appeals so successfully to a large circle of readers. It is a compact volume, very handy and yet crammed full with all the essential facts concerning the history of Greece, its rise and fall. It compares favourably, and I think no higher criticism can be bestowed upon it, with the *Cambridge Ancient History* and therefore serves very successfully the needs of the scholar. An index of twenty-five pages and two maps, one of Greece and the other of the Empire of Alexander, concludes this valuable book.

M. GASTER.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS By the late F. W. HASLUCK, M A Edited by MARGARET M HASLUCK, B A., M A 2 vols. 9 × 6, 877 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. 63*s*.

The author of this book, who unfortunately died before its completion, has undertaken a task which, though apparently limited to a narrow scope, opens up an unexpected vista on the important problem of Ethno-physicology. The late Mr. Hasluck, one of the foremost scholars of modern Greece, and who had lived many years in Turkey, was slowly drawn into the study of the mutual relations, spiritual and religious, between these two nations, differing so much from one another, coming from two distinct races, speaking different languages. They are diametrically opposed to one another in their religion. They have entirely different traditions, practices and customs, so at any rate it appears on the surface, yet the result of the author's investigation has been to show that a more intimate contact has been created between these two nations than one would be inclined to suppose This slow assimilation which has taken place between these two nations living only side by side with one another and yet otherwise entirely separate has effected an exchange of their customs, religious practices and beliefs which has drawn them very close to one another. They freely borrowed from one another, the Greeks from the

Turks and the Turks from the Greeks, and each one has afterwards translated the new element into his own spiritual sphere so that many practices and folk-lore among these nations have become indistinguishable from one another.

This opens up a new prospective, for if the Greeks can borrow from the Turks and the Turks from the Greeks, and if the shrine which is sacred to one becomes sacred to the other in the course of time, how much of it is of recent origin and how much of it can be traced back to ancient Pagan times? The veneer only seems to be different which has been placed upon them, and thus we are led by this excellent investigation to a revision of our ideas as to the antiquity and origin of practices and beliefs found among one nation or another. This is merely the general result drawn from a study of the rich contents of the two volumes. The MSS. had been left incomplete, and it is due to the consummate skill of his young widow that we owe the publication of these two volumes. She has been able to collect and collate all the fragments left behind and whenever necessary she has added explanatory notes showing her own profound knowledge of the subject. A new light is thrown on the origin of the Janissaries and also on the Bektashi around whom many stories have been gathered which are now proved to be mere legends. We have here in the first place a series of chapters devoted to the transference of rural and urban Turkish and Greek sanctuaries visited by one or the other.

Part II is devoted to a description of Turkish and popular history and religion. We see how far it is removed from the orthodox form of Islam, like everywhere the masses make a religion of their own, with their own sayings, their own shrines, with their own practices and customs, some old, some new, some borrowed from the old inhabitants, some brought in with the stream of Islam, some being of Christian origin, such as the worship of the Old Testament and Koranic saints, side by side with local saints.

In the second volume (pp. 363–770) the student of folk-

lore will find a very rich harvest. It is this part which is mostly due to the excellent work done by Mrs. Hasluck. Specially praiseworthy is the wonderful index, one has no other word for it, so invaluable for a book of such a character, it runs to 106 pages from pp. 771–877, and the full bibliography at the beginning fills forty pages.

Happily the pagination is consecutive although the book is bound in two volumes. There are also four illustrations in this book which is beautifully printed, needless to say having been done by the Clarendon Press. Mrs. Hasluck must be most warmly thanked for this invaluable gift, a fine monument to the memory of her late husband.

M. GASTER.

ISLAM IN SPAIN By the Rev. Canon SELL, D.D. 8 × 5. 182 pp. London · Church Missionary Society, 1929. 3*s*.

This is one more of the many books published by Canon Sell concerning Islam which he has studied from many points of view. Among them there is his *Historical Development of the Qur'án* and the *Life of Muhammad.* He is fully versed in the Arabic literature, and fully conversant with the best works on the subject treated in this publication It is a comparatively brief story of the Muhammads in Spain from the conquest to the final defeat.

The author tries to be impartial and to a large extent succeeds, specially as he is not touching here upon any religious problem nor dogmatic question. Thus the invasion of Spain by the Muhammadans is described, the establishment of the Khalifas, the slow rise of the Christian kings and a chapter on the Arabian philosophy. One misses, however, a chapter on the art and sciences of the Arabs which have left their deep impress, not only in Spain but upon the whole of mediaeval Europe, which has still continued to our own days. In the last-mentioned chapter the author endeavours to minimize the part which the Arab philosophy and sciences have played in Europe. It is presented as being merely

a reflex of Greek philosophy, which the Arabs had obtained through the intermediary of Syriac translations. This alleged dependency on the new platonic and other speculations of the hellenistic period is, however, of a very slender nature. Philosophy has been independently developed by the Arabs and it has become the product entirely of the Arabic genius. Europe has learnt of the ancient Greek philosophy, not in its primitive form but in the developed form of Avicenna (Aben Sina) (Ibn) and Averroes (Aben Roshd) and many others whose name is legion.

For those who wish to have a succinct survey of Islam in Spain this book will no doubt prove very profitable, always bearing in mind that some caution is required as far as the judgment of the author is concerned about the Arabic rule and achievement.

M. GASTER.

TABULA SMARAGDINA. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hermetischen Literatur. By JULIUS RUSKA. 8vo pp 248. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1924. 32 marks

The Emerald Table, which forms the subject of this important work by Professor Ruska, is the one on which the inscription was found which marks the turning-point in the history of alchemy from the time it became known in the Latin text. It is told that Apollonius of Tyana, who at that time had become merely a tradition, was able through his art to penetrate into the secret chamber where he found Hermes in the shape of an old man sitting on a golden throne and holding the Emerald Table in his hands The origin has remained obscure. It was by mere chance then that Professor Ruska, who has already published some very important studies on the Arabic alchemists, in examining a MS. placed at his disposal by Professor Bergströsser, hit upon this passage.

He recognized at once the great importance of his discovery, and leaving other studies aside he concentrated upon a

serious investigation as to the origin of this remarkable inscription. It consists only of a few lines and yet, as already remarked, it gave to alchemy that speculative character which it has retained since the fourteenth century. Having discovered this text Professor Ruska set to work to see whether he could trace it to some Greek original. To this purpose he examined most minutely, in the first chapters of this book, all the existing astrological, magical, and alchemistic treatises found in Greek. He includes rightly into the Hermetic literature all such treatises associated with the name of Hermes But all search was in vain.

The author then follows up the Arabic traditions concerning Hermes and Apollonius; then he discusses the so-called Treasure of Alexander, a book written on gold leaves and containing a large number of alchemist prescriptions. Of these he gives large abstracts in Arabic and German translations. He then passes on to the MS in which the Tabula is found, practically on the last page. This work is said to have been translated from the Syriac of a certain Sagus.

He then proceeds to investigate the book of *The Causes of Things*, and he translates for the first time the introduction which he believes to be very old, in any case anterior to Ǧabir (eighth century) since he quotes it. He comes to the conclusion that the Emerald Table formed an essential part of it. By the way, one may note that many Arabic passages are given in the original and in German translations thus making the book accessible also to non-Orientalists So far, according to Professor Ruska, there can be no doubt that this Tabula Smaragdina cannot be directly traced back to a Greek original. It so happens that Holmyard has also discovered in some Arabic writings of Ǧabir a similar text. We have thus three recensions—the Arabic two and the Latin, but they differ slightly from one another This points to an older original of which these three are as many variants although they do not touch the fundamental character.

The last part of the book deals in the same manner, not

so fully, however, with the further development of the alchemistic speculations and operations from the time when the Tabula became known in Europe down to the end of the eighteenth century.

There are one or two points in which the author has in addition put forward some new theories. In the first place he contends against Greek influence upon Arabic science, especially astrology, alchemy, and medicine The whole merit belongs, according to him, to Persian scholars and he gives a long list of men of Persian origin who flourished under various Khalifs and greatly enriched the Arabic literature with their writings These be believes to have been possibly connected with the old Babylonian and Indian. He will, furthermore, not admit anything as having come from Aramaic sources, in which language, according to him, no such treatises have been preserved There is a simple answer to this, that with the rise of the Arabic literature all the others practically perished, so it happened with the old Persian and so it happened with the Syriac, with the exception of the theological literature. But the author goes so far as even to deny the statement of Sagus, that the writing was in Syriac; the reason for this denial being that Aramaic was considered the divine language originally spoken by Adam, a work of this kind, therefore, had to be written in that sacred tongue, but according to Professor Ruska it is all a fiction.

There is now in the air a certain tendency to trace everything back in one form or another to Zoroastrian influences for which there is not the slightest shred of justification, as will be shown by me elsewhere To deny, therefore, the Syriac influence and the possibility of Syriac intermediary between Greek traditions and ancient Arabic on the strength of such an argument is very far fetched, and it is possible that in the Greek Hermetic literature, and even the old Egyptian literature, some traces will be found leading up to the Emerald Table.

It so happens that my son, Theodore, has drawn my

attention to the following passage in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, chap liv (Chapter of the Coming Forth by Day): "This chapter was found at Khmun (Hermopolis) on an alabaster plaque (variant: in real Lapis-Lazuli), under the feet of the Majesty of the venerable God (Thoth) in the writing of the God himself . . . He (the royal son Hordudef) brought it to the King as being a marvel when he saw that it was something very mysterious which no one had ever seen or set eyes on before" This parallelism between this discovery and that ascribed to Apollonius in the Arabic is too striking to be accidental The plaque is found under the feet of the venerable God Thoth, the Egyptian equivalent to Hermes, in the town of Hermopolis (the town of Hermes) also covered with the mystical inscription It could then be left to others to write an inscription according to their own speculations, thus the connection between the Tabula Smaragdina and the mystical plaque cannot be denied This, however, does not invalidate the other results hitherto obtained by Professor Ruska, nor does it diminish the scientific value of this very fine piece of work. The author is fully conversant with the cognate literature, and the book opens up a new vista in the study of alchemy Excellent indices also enhance the value of the book.

M GASTER

THE GREAT CYLINDER INSCRIPTIONS A AND B of GUDEA TO WHICH ARE ADDED HIS STATUES. By IRA MAURICE PRICE, Ph.D 11 × 8. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Leipzig, 1927.

In 1898 Professor Price, at the suggestion of Friedrich Delitzsch, went to Paris, copied and in 1899 published the text of the two well-preserved cylinders of Gudea, patesi of Lagash. Throughout his long career Professor Price has exhibited a peculiar ability for doing what is most useful for scholarship. These two cylinders, which form a continuous text, constitute the longest classical Sumerian inscription

ever discovered, and there are remarkably few lacunæ in it. He thus made accessible to Sumerologists a text, which for nearly thirty years has been the principal source in the rapid development of Sumerology. No linguistic science has seen such rapid change from the period of vague conception of its syntax and etymology, when the author published his valuable copy of these cylinders, to the present day when its grammar and lexicon have reached the stage of an exact science and Sumerian civilization has taken its place beside the Egyptian as one of the two great factors in the origins of human history.

When the author published his text, hitherto accessible only in the large and unwieldy photographic plates of the *Découvertes en Chaldée* by de Sarrec and Heuzey, he intended to issue a transcription and translation almost immediately. In the introduction to his edition, dated 1927, he explains this long delay. In the meantime Toscane had published another copy, and F. Thureau-Dangin, who had his own private copies, gave a complete and brilliant interpretation of cylinder A in the *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie*, xvi, 344–62; xvii, 181–202; xviii, 119–141 (1902–4), with new copy of Col. xvii. In a small brochure, which appeared immediately, Thureau-Dangin gave a translation and transcription of both cylinders without notes, *Les Cylindres de Gudéa*, and again in his *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, pp. 134–99, Paris, 1905, of which a German edition appeared in 1907, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 88–140. The same scholar has now given his own copies of the texts, *Les Cylindres de Gudéa*, Paris, 1925, which in many places is more accurate than Price's edition of 1899, a fact which the author conscientiously acknowledges. Thureau-Dangin's copies also contain fragments of a third cylinder. It is, therefore, evident that Price's copies of 1899 have been superseded, but every Sumerologist of the present generation will cherish the name of Ira Maurice Price for placing in their hands a convenient text of this indispensable inscription.

The various editions of Thureau-Dangin not only utilized

every morsel of information at the disposal of Sumerology up to 1907, but displayed an insight into the structure of Sumerian, and a feeling for the meaning of passages, inexplicable with our present information, wholly remarkable. In undertaking a new translation, such as the author essays in this book, the writer must be expected to utilize all the new information which has appeared since 1907, and not only this, but he must have that profound insight into Sumerian etymology and syntax necessary to apply this vast critical apparatus. All this we are bound to expect from an edition which presumes to supplant and improve the previous French and German editions. On this point, to my great grief, I am distressed to admit disappointment in considerable measure. The notes and bibliography show that Professor Price has bravely attempted to keep pace with Sumerology, but somehow he does not seem to have had time to digest the material as a specialist should. In many passages the correct translation, already made, has been changed to an erroneous one. In others where new syllabaries or parallel passages enable us to make an advance on Thureau-Dangin's edition the sources seem to be unknown to the author. To bring to bear upon this text the huge critical apparatus of modern Sumerology would involve writing a new edition. The reviewer can touch upon only a few passages here. Witzel, in his new translation of Cyl. A, concludes that these cylinders describe the construction of a *ziggurat* (stage-tower) with hanging gardens,[1] and translates *me-gal-la*, A 1, 2, by *das grosse Heiligtum*, and our author renders it by "with a supreme appeal". Have these new attempts to change the normal meaning, "great decrees," really any knowledge of the many passages in which *me-gal* is used ? Can *nin-mu* (or *egi-mu*) *me-gal-gal-la sag-sir-bi za-e me-en* mean anything but "My queen, of the great decrees their directress art thou" ? Langdon, PBS. x, 260, 6. Witzel, ibid., Heft. 6, 76, translates *me-gal-gal-la* by *grosse Los*(*orakel*), a meaning

[1] *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, Heft. 3.

which *me* never has, neither has it ever the meaning "appeal". *me-gal šag-bi*, "the meaning of the great decrees," PBS. x, 251, 23; *me-gal-gal-la-ni* "his great decrees", ibid., 254, 21, certainly not "his great appeals". The text refers to the decrees of Enlil. "When Anu, Enlil and Ea, *galga-ne-ne gi-na-ta me-gal-gal-la-*[*ta*] *má-gúr* [d] *sin-na mu-un-gi-ne-eš*, in their sure counsel, by great decrees fixed the crescent of Sin," King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, ii, pl. 49, 1–3. *me-gal-gal-la pa-mu-ni-in-è*, "The great decrees he glorified," PSBA. 1918, 20; *me-mağ-a me-sak-ki-a-ba*, ibid, 25, certainly "mighty decrees, chief or foremost decrees." Cf. the gloss on [d] *Me-mağ* = [d] *Ninurta ḫāmim parṣê ṣîrûti*, CT. 25, 11, 20–21, "he who controls (guides) the far-famed decrees". Ninurta is not a "guide of appeals", or of stage towers, or of oracles. *sikil-bi me-gal li-eš dug-ga*, "commanding its purification by great decrees," said of Marduk who consecrates the scape-goat, Haupt, ASKT. 105, 31. See *Expository Times*, xxiv, 1912, p. 11, *me-gal-gal-bi é-a ám-gi*, "Its great ritual orders are restrained in the temple," Reisner, SBH. 60, Rev. 12 = Radau, BE xxx, 12, 19. *me* has, of course, the meaning "oracle", *tertu*, and "cry, lament", *ḳûlu*, but its use with *gal* is fixed.

It is this lack of wide reading and first-hand acquaintance with Sumerian texts which is severely lacking in Witzel and Price's new editions. A 2, 1, Price renders *ensi-kú zu me-te-na-mu*, "O my brilliant interpretress, the wise, the exalted". Here *ku*(*g*)-*zu* is separated and taken as two words against every previous interpreter. But how is *kug-zu* used in the inscriptions? It has invariably the meaning *emḳu* wise, as the author himself enters this compound in his vocabulary for this passage, p. 115. Then, following Witzel, *me-te-na-mu* is said to mean "exalted" and this is defended by referring to KS. Heft. 1, p. 108. Here *me-te* = *simtu*, "what is fitting", is said to mean "exalted". *nir-gál me-te-na* in A 2, 17, obviously means *mālikat simati*, "she that advises what is fitting" as Thureau-Dangin says. Cf.

nir-gál urú-bi, "adviser of his city," Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*, 3, 8. In A 2, 17, *nir-gál me-te-na* is rendered by "predestined princess", and Witzel renders, "herrliche Fürstin", both contrary to the vocabularies. In 18, 4, where the text is now known to read *me-te-ni mu-gi*, Witzel renders, "he set up his watchman," reading *gal-te-ni* and he is followed by Price. In other words Witzel's confident statement that *me-ten* means "exalted" is defended by comparing only one other passage, 2, 17 + 29, and here it has the ordinary meaning. The new translations are both erroneous and reject the correct rendering long since given by Thureau-Dangin.

There are, of course, passages where new material, or new phonetic readings, enable us to advance the interpretation. For example, A 3, 17, *ù-ru* is probably phonetic for *uru* = *naṣāru*. *šu-maǵ-za sa-ga a-zi-da-bi egi-mu* [d] *Gatumdug ma-ra ǵa-mu-ù-ru*, "May thy mighty hand, whose valiance is supreme, O my queen Gatumdug, give me protection." Here *uru* is construed with *ra*. A 6, 12, *ANŠU-DUN* and *ANŠU-NITAH* 5, 10, have the value *du-ur*, cf CT. 12, 31, 38177, 8, Accadian *mûru*, colt, young ass. See Meissner, SAI. 3389; *ANŠU-NITAH-úr*, i e *dur*, IV Raw 18*, No. 6, Rev. 1; but *ANŠU-DUN-úr*, Cyl. B 9, 16; 13, 19; DUN-*úr*, i.e. *du(n)-ur* > *dur*, Cyl A 7, 20, without determ. *anšu*. *ANŠU-DUN-úr*, SAK. 60, vi, 3. Note the variant [anšu]*tun*, *dun*, AJSL. 40, 191, 2 Hence all these various Idgrs. are read [anšu]*dur* < *dun*, or without determ. *dur*. Only a few examples of how new material enables us to complete or correct Thureau-Dangin's edition can be given in a review; in A 22, 5, the verb is *SAL-e-de*; this is a phonetic reading for *SAL-UD-DU*, read *mi-è(d)* = *kunnû*, RA. 11, 146, 47. Translate, "with precious preparations of best ointments he adorned it." A 26, 10, the sign *URUD* here and *passim* is clearly a verb; Thureau-Dangin renders it by "to abide". From A 28, 21, *kun-nagga úr-šú da-a-bi*, "a leaden reservoir, which was set upon a platform," the value seems to be *da*.

The sign *URUDA* is known to have the value *da* from A 5, 1, and *Deimel, Fara* III, p. 2, No. 12745 I 4, *maš-dá* = *ṣabîtu*, for usual *maš-dà*, Br. 1908. But in A 29, 1, *dá-ba-bi*, the original value is apparently *dab* < *dag*, hence perhaps same verb as *dag* = *ašābu*, causative *šušubu*, "to cause to sit," "erect." The author translates 26, 10, by "exalted companion-piece of bronze". *ku-li* means "companion" only; *URUD-bi* is a relative adjectival clause and the old rendering, "Companions which abide in heaven" is strictly literal and alone possible. In CT. 15, 42, K. 4864, 14, *ku-li-an-na* = *kulilu*, with *kusarikku*, the goat-fish, Capricorn.[1] [*ku-li*]-*an-na* = *kulilitum*, CT. 14, 2, A 38 in list of insects. Cf. *ilat Kilili*, ZA. 30, 192 n. 1; 36, 211 n. 1; RA. 14, 172, ii, 4. In any case *ku-li-an-na* is possibly a mythical figure, and *kulili* is Aquarius.[2] Note that in CT. 15, 42, *ku-li-an-na* occurs also with *magilum*, and in Cyl. A 26, 13, after *ku-li-an-na*, come *má-gi-lum* and *gud-alim*. Now *gud-alim* is a name of Capricorn, variant of *kusarikku*[3] Cyl. A 26, 9–14, therefore, describe three astronomical monsters whose images were placed in the temple. A. 26, 15–16 is rendered, "His deceased heroes, who were truly (*interred*) at the temple, their words at the drinking-fountain he placed." Naturally we have to do here with the well-known rite of pouring water for the souls of the dead, and *KA* must mean "mouth", not "words". Thureau-Dangin (whom Witzel follows) is clearly right here. *me ša-ge*[4]*-šú* in l. 15 is left untranslated by Thureau-Dangin, a far better procedure than Witzel's impossible guess, "*auf dem Tempelplatz.*"[5] Now *ša-ge* is probably a phonetic form of *sag-gi*(*g*), *saq-ge* = "the black headed", and *me-ša-ge-šú* = *ana parṣi salmat kakkadi*. A 26, 15–16 then mean, "The dead heroes—according to the ritualistic decrees of the black headed people (i.e. Sumerians)

[1] See my *Epic of Creation*, 89, n. 7, and p. 224

[2] Ibid, 89, n. 6.

[3] Ibid., 88, 141.

[4] So I read for *é*.

[5] See above, the same impossible rendering of *me-gal-la*, A 1, 2.

their mouths at the place of drinking water (i.e. place of mortuary offerings) he placed."

In A 27, 19 there is the earliest reference to the myth of *Zû*, the eagle, and the serpent who passed over the mountain. From KB. vi, 104, 16, or Frank, *Studien*, 107, 18, *ḫe-bad-du* should mean *etēḳu* or *zakāpu*. In 27, 18 *urin* has obviously the meaning "spear", as Thureau-Dangin rendered it. Here again Price has followed Witzel's erroneous translation. *urin* = *urinnu*, spear, is often associated with door-posts. See RA. 5, 133–4; note the *giš urin-gal ša šarri*, set up in the *bit rimki*, Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 126, 24; ASKT. 104, 13; Ebeling, KAR. 91, Rev. 19, Nies, ii, 22, 194; Lutz, PBS. i, 121, 9–11; Sm. 678,[1] *giš urin-gal* of gypsum, which are drawn on the right and left of a gate, and the same ritual in Zimmern, *Beitrage*, 166, No. 53, 14 All this is, as Heuzey says, reminiscent of the tradition of the spear or two spears, set by a gate, symbolic of divine protection. A 27, 18–19, then, mean, "The spear, which was fixed beside the temple, was like *Zû*, who with the serpent passed over the mountain."

Cyl. B 10, 23, restore *a-gim ù-mi-gar*[2] [*šag d En-lil-lá*] *gú-bi gi-a-ni a-rin* (?) *sud-da*, that he may inundate like waters, that the flood of Enlil, which returns to its bank, wash with bright (?) water. Cf. B 7, 18 and A 1, 5.

The notes indicate a wide and conscientious endeavour to assimilate Sumerian literature and there is a useful vocabulary at the end of the volume. The author has also included the statues A–L of Gudea, but had no opportunity of studying the new statues from Lagash, numbered M-N-O by the writer, *JRAS*., 1927, 765–8, which see for literature on M and N. Statue B 3, 15 probably contains an unusual writing KA + Ú for *udugga* = *utukku* as in Cyl. A 13, 14. St. B, 3, 15–4, 7 and Cyl. A 13, 14–15 are clearly parallel and describe the expulsion of demons, evil minded persons and witches from the city. S. LANGDON.

[1] Unpublished. [2] *A-gar* = *mê raḫâṣu*, Br. 11707.

NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSURKUNDEN. By M. SAN NICCOLÒ and A. UNGNAD. Band I, Hefte 1 and 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929.

These first two parts of what must, when completed, be a very voluminous work, contain the translations of 371 New-Babylonian contracts, without transliteration of the texts, but provided with necessary notes, and short legal comments, where requisite, to the individual documents, as well as general juristic introductions to the classes into which the material is divided. Thus is begun the New Babylonian counterpart to *Hammurabis Gesetz*, with which one of the authors has long been associated, and the method is that of Part VI rather than of the earlier parts in that collection. The authors have undertaken a task which has long been urgent, for publication of texts of this kind has been very copious, and yet hitherto studies of only limited scope have been devoted to them, though these contracts are by no means simple. As a whole the translator's and commentator's work is admirably done; particularly useful is the practice of citing the Babylonian text *in extenso* as notes where difficulties of interpretation arise, for this does much to make up for the absence of full transliterations. Owing to the necessarily piecemeal appearance of the parts the preface is reserved for the completion of the first volume, so that the general plan of the work is not disclosed. But since Vol. I is to confine itself to contracts published from the Berlin collection, and since we are told that the second volume is to comprise all the texts of this class from Warka, it seems as if there will eventually be considerable dispersion of material of similar purport, so that he who wishes to go through all the documents concerning (for example) marriage or adoption will have to search through several volumes. Perhaps, however, no purely theoretical grouping was possible, and this difficulty can be met by the full indexes which will certainly have to be provided. It is agreeable to hear that each volume will be completed by a glossary. C. J. G.

NEUE KEILSCHRIFTLICHE RECHTSURKUNDEN AUS DER EL-AMARNA ZEIT. By PAUL KOSCHAKER. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1928.

A new work by Professor Koschaker in the field of Assyro-Babylonian law, of which he is at once so learned and so acute an exponent, is an event of the highest interest, from which both jurisconsults and philologists may depend upon learning not a little, particularly (as regards the latter and humbler herd) when he has had the collaboration of Professor Landsberger. Here he appears among the pioneers in the study of new material with no less than his usual distinction, even if not always superior to the weakness of differing from his predecessors in the text and relegating their modest achievements to the footnotes.

By mere chance there have appeared together within the last three years publications of legal material from two different places, but of approximately the same date (fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.), the middle-Assyrian "contracts" from Ashur, and the "Kirkuk tablets" from Kirkuk (ancient Arrapḫa) and the site of Nuzi. This work is not, indeed, a study of all the material available at the time it was written, but confines itself to a general discussion of the character of the new documents, followed by two chapters concerning (*a*) alienation of real property, and (*b*) *Haftungsrecht*, concluded by specimen translations and indexes. That the differences in legal practice between places so near geographically as Ashur and Arrapḫa should be more striking than the similarities is only what might be expected from the racial difference of the populations which were not then, as later, united in one great empire, for Assyrian authority was then non-existent at Arrapḫa, though Assyrian cultural influence was already strong, as appears most obviously in the writing of the Kirkuk tablets, concerning which we are bound to differ from the author's opinion. Many difficulties and possible points of variance which at present subsist in these documents will undoubtedly disappear with the publication of more of

the extensive material which has now been recovered, and discussion here would be premature. It seems improbable, however (to cite but two particulars), that the last has yet been said about the so-called " sale-adoptions ", and it will be interesting to see whether the large inferences made from a possible, though still uncertain, explanation of the word *šudutu* are confirmed or invalidated by new evidence.

C. J. G.

L'ARMÉNIE ET LE PROCHE ORIENT By FRIDTJOF NANSEN. 9½ × 6, 364 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928. 30 frs.

Armenia is fortunate in having as her friend and helper a man of such eminence, ability, and energy as Dr. Nansen, and the publication, in 1927, at Oslo, of his *Gjennem Armenia* (Through Armenia), of which the work before us, with a title in better accord with the contents, is a translation, is a piece of excellent propaganda for the Armenian cause and a well-reasoned plea for the re-settlement of a greatly suffering dispersed people. With political views and economic schemes of irrigation, etc., this is not the place to deal, they have been referred to in periodicals which reviewed the English version.

In the original Norse some misprints were made and it is a pity that few of them have been corrected in the French (" burried ", p. 25, Mkimvari, pp 64, 97, Mktari, p. 65, and, worst of all, " Ve sjviss," p. 67 in the Norse, becomes " Ve Schviss " in the French, p. 104, which is a deplorable distortion of the name of the great Georgian epic poem).

It is not easy to discover from either the original or the translation the date of Dr. Nansen's journey, but it was apparently 1925. The translator, M. Arne Omtvedt, seems to follow the original in some places with almost too scrupulous fidelity ; but he omits Jacobsen's verses (p. 172 in the Norse text), turns "' Djemshid " (p. 123 of the translation) into " Samshid ", and what purports to be a passage from

Rusthaveli (p. 77) is hardly a good quotation. The photographic illustrations and maps are clear and helpful.

Such a book is naturally not to be judged as an original contribution to the study of the languages, literatures, and histories of Armenia and Georgia, but it is certainly a most valuable piece of work, an attractive, well-written book by a great man capable, through the force of his name and personality, of recruiting throughout the world, new students to work in the vast rich field of Transcaucasian lore. Chapters iv, x, xi give brief summaries of the history of Georgia and Armenia.

O. W.

AMONG THE FOREST DWARFS OF MALAYA. By PAUL SCHEBESTA. Translated by ARTHUR CHAMBERS. 9 × 6, 288 pp., 142 photographic illustrations, 7 sketches in the text, 1 map. London: Hutchinson & Co., n.d. 21*s*. net.

The author of this book has written a very vivid and detailed account of his experiences, extending over many months, of life among the Negritos of the North of the Malay Peninsula. He lived in close contact with them in their shifting camps, accompanied them in their wanderings in the jungle, and gained the confidence of these extremely shy people at the cost of many hardships and some risks. He is therefore able to speak as an eye-witness, and his account of their habits and behaviour is based on direct observation. He also acquired a working knowledge of their language (of which he has given a grammatical sketch elsewhere); and owing to the intimacy that grew up between him and the Negritos, he gathered a good deal of information about their religious beliefs, a matter which obviously required careful and delicate investigation. I do not propose to discuss his conclusions on this subject; he gives us, at first hand, the statements made by the aborigines themselves and it is open to anyone to interpret them as best he can.

Apart from such scientific data, some of which are new,

while others confirm or to some extent modify the reports of earlier investigators, the book is a very entertaining account of the author's travels and adventures. He had an eye for scenery as well as for the special objects of his quest, who enlisted his warmest sympathies. These Negritos are among the most primitive human relics of prehistoric ages, their numbers are dwindling, and they deserve thorough investigation, although a great deal has already been written about them. The present work is cast into a popular mould. It does not give a bibliography of the extensive earlier literature, nor does it strictly discriminate between newly discovered facts and others that were already well known. A casual reader of it would not realize how much had previously been done by earlier explorers; but the author has certainly added a good deal of fresh information.

The translation is very readable and is in the main a faithful rendering of the original (which is in German). But a careful scrutiny reveals many minor inaccuracies. In the East we do not as a rule speak of Tamuls, ox waggons (or wagons), bamboo reeds (particularly when they happen to be of the giant bamboo species), cocoa palms, Spanish pepper (i.e. chillies), and mandioka bushes (generally known as tapioca plants), nor do we use "Malay" as a place-name, though this error is common enough in English journalism. The Malay words in the original have undergone a certain amount of revision, partly in order to adapt them to the Romanized spelling recognized in British Malaya, but the process has not been consistently carried out, and a number of minor variations, as well as a few misprints, still remain unchanged.

The German original is not altogether easy, as the author's vocabulary is extensive and contains a number of rather uncommon words; and though evidently well versed in German, the translator has made a good many mistakes. Sometimes his translation is rather of the nature of a paraphrase. Thus, "modern roads" (p. 12) and "up-to-date

roads" (p. 19) are not a translation of "betonierte Strassen". I pass over many such cases. More serious are such renderings as "Further India" (p. 13) for "Vorderindien" (which in spite of the similarity in sound, means the very opposite), "at midday" (p 19) for "zu Mittag" (to lunch), "never under any circumstances" (p. 27) for "unter Umständen . . . gar nicht" (which can, in its context, be rendered "perhaps . . . never"), "counted" (p. 35) for "zahlte" (paid), "supervened" (p. 63) for "herrschte vor" (predominated), "sympathy" (p. 74) for "Mitteilsamkeit" (communicativeness), "pests" (p 85) for "Qualm" (thick smoke), "evident" (p. 91) for "*zuwider*" (*offensive, objectionable*), besides a great many more which there is no space to set out here. Altogether, in the first hundred pages of the book, I noticed about half as many errors, and having previously read the work in the original text, I did not consider it necessary to carry this collation any further.

C. O. Blagden.

Le Temple d'Angkor Vat (= Mémoires Archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome II) Première Partie L'Architecture du Monument 2 parts, 14½ × 11 (1) pp 42, 73 plates, 2 plans; (2) pp. 3, 78 plates. Paris et Bruxelles: G van Oest, 1929

Among the wonders of the world, Angkor may fairly be said to hold a high place, and naturally many fantastic legends, both ancient and modern, have clustered round it. Even within the last forty years a serious and respectable writer dated its origin in 447 B.C, and added that Angkor Vat, the temple with which the work under review is concerned, was begun in A D. 57, and completed some time before A.D 638. Native legends attribute its construction to the celestial architect Viśvakarman, acting on the direct instructions of the god Indra. These fanciful notions are mentioned, and duly disposed of, in M. Louis Finot's learned

and lucid Introduction, which gives a history of the temple from its foundation, somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century A D., to its restoration under French auspices in our own times He makes it clear that during pretty well the whole of this period it remained a recognized sacred site. Originally dedicated to Viṣṇu, it was soon, apparently, devoted to the worship of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara), and eventually used for the cult of Pali Buddhism, and it continued throughout to be a pre-eminent object of veneration, a great national shrine, and a resort of pilgrims

The photographic plates give a good idea of its architectural grandeur, and some of them also show, though perhaps less satisfactorily, the low reliefs with which parts of its walls are decorated The work has been produced in the excellent style which we are accustomed to expect from the École Française and the publishers who have issued it

C O BLAGDEN.

HIKAJAT PELANDOEK DJINAKA, een Maleisch Dwergheertverhaal vertaald door C. A. MEES. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, xxv + 125 pp., 7 plates. Santpoort: C. A. Mees, 1929.

This is a translation of eleven stories from the Malay cycle of beast fables in which the tiny antelope, commonly known as mouse deer, plays the part of hero, on the lines of Reynard the Fox and Brer Rabbit. By his superior cunning, and the magic power gained by ascetic practices, he usually outwits the bigger animals, and is therefore properly styled the monarch of the forest. In the recension on which this translation is based, this title (*shāh-i-'ālam*, in Malay commonly pronounced *shah alam, di-rimba*) has been modified to *shaikh 'ālim di-rimba*. The translator has worked on H. C. Klinkert's *Hikajat Pelandoek Djinaka, of de Reinaert de Vos der Maleiers* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1885), but has also used Klinkert's other text, published by the same firm in 1893

under the title of *De Pelandoek Djinaka, of het guitige dwerghert*. The former recension is represented by several MSS. of the Leiden University Library, the latter by a MS. in the India Office Library. Not having had access to the originals, I cannot express any opinion as to the accuracy of the translation, but, so far as I am able to judge, it reads well, and the book is of handy size and nicely produced

An introduction deals with the sources and with the subject of the tales, which in a sense form a composite unit and are of native origin, though modified in their present form by foreign, particularly Islamic, influences. An appendix gives a short analysis of the stories, and compares some of them with other specimens of Indonesian folklore published by Professor J. de Vries in his *Volksverhalen uit Oost-Indie* (Zutfen, 1925–8). The plates reproduce scenes, mostly of animals, from the sculptures of several old Javanese temples.

C. O BLAGDEN.

THE LAND OF THE LAMA. By DAVID MACDONALD. A description of a country of contrasts and of its cheerful, happy-go-lucky people of hardy nature and curious customs; their religion, ways of living, trade, and social life. With illustrations and a map. 9 × 5½, 283 pp. London: Seeley, Service and Co., 1929. 21*s*

Though there is a considerable literature in existence dealing with Tibet, it is safe to say that in no existing book or article have the country and its people been so exhaustively treated as in the present volume

Hitherto our information has been drawn from travellers who visited the country in disguise, and if they remained in it, did so at the risk of their lives, or from explorers who described its geographical features, recorded their impressions of its people and such information as to their customs and habits as they were able to pick up in most cases through an interpreter.

Some of these writers have given us valuable information on certain aspects of Tibetan life; notably Dr. Filchner, whose friendly relations with the Lamas enabled him to give in his book—*Das Kloster Kumbum*—a detailed picture of the monastic life which is such a curious feature of Tibetan civilization.

But none of these authors had the special qualifications of David Macdonald who, for fifteen years, was British Trade Agent at Gyantse and Yatung, has besides this, as Lord Ronaldshay tells us in his Foreword, an intimate knowledge of the Tibetan language—a rare accomplishment in a European and an immense advantage to him in studying the life and customs of the people—and above all enjoys the friendship of the present Dalai Lama, the thirteenth of his line. When compelled to flee to India in 1909 it was to Macdonald that His Holiness owed his safe passage over the frontier, a fact he has never forgotten. In his fifteen years of office in Tibet, Macdonald has, as he tells us, made friends with high and low, so that he can describe equally well the life of the wealthy noble or burgher and of the poorest hovel-dweller.

For the comparative study of anthropology the book contains an immense amount of interesting matter. For the student of culture stages in the history of mankind it is particularly instructive. Tibetan civilization reminds us in many of its aspects of the Europe of the sixteenth century. Without pushing the parallel too far, do we not find here as there the same gulf fixed between rich and poor, the same ferocity in punishing the criminal, gorgeous garments on bodies not over clean, filth and vermin in the dwellings of the poor, desperate epidemics sweeping off multitudes in the absence of the barest elements of sanitation?

Guarded by moor and fen, crag and torrent from inquisitive and warlike neighbours, the Tibetans have been, except in the case of India and China, without those contacts with the outer world on which progress in ideas depends. But this, though a loss in one direction has been a gain in others.

Mr. Macdonald tells us that "with the crudest materials and apparatus Tibetan weavers can turn out a product which will compare favourably with any similar article made elsewhere". And his description of the clothing, ornaments and furniture of the upper classes makes one regret that the advancing tide of western fashion—so devastating in its effects elsewhere—is rapidly leading the Tibetans to discard their picturesque costumes for European garb. Where the Homburg hat has already made its appearance, coat and trousers of European pattern are likely to follow.

The photographs illustrating the book are an excellent supplement to the text and fully worthy of it. As frontispiece we have a portrait of the present Dalai Lama presented by him to Mr. Macdonald for use in his book.

For anybody intending to visit Tibet this book is indispensable. It would be difficult to name a phase of Tibetan life which has escaped Mr. Macdonald's observation. The whole existence of the people, domestic, social, political, and religious, is passed in review by one who has not only had unique opportunities for studying it, but also the gift of making the best of these.

C. Mabel Rickmers.

The Desert Road to Turkestan. By Owen Lattimore. 9 × 5½, xiv + 331 pp., 48 illustrations and 2 maps. London Methuen and Co. First published 1928. 21*s*.

Every now and again Western civilization throws up a traveller who reverts to a type common perhaps among his forefathers in far distant ages, a type in whom the roving instinct is strong, love of adventure and the lure of the unknown making a stronger appeal than the amenities of a life which tends everywhere in civilized centres to become more and more standardized.

The Buddhist would have no difficulty in explaining such a character in terms of rebirth and the ease with which

men like the German Filchner and the American Lattimore fraternize with his countrymen in Tibet and China would be but fresh proof to him of the truth of his theory.

" A longing to travel the caravan ways in the old manner of caravans . . . to go somewhere a long way off to countries where men do things as they were done uncounted years ago because their fathers did things in that way," is what led Mr Lattimore to make his adventurous journey along the least known of the caravan routes, the so-called Winding Road from Kuei-hua in China through Inner Mongolia to Ku Ch'eng-tze in Chinese Turkestan.

The outcome of his travels is an unusual book in that it contains information of the kind that few travellers are in a position to give. Lattimore's knowledge of Chinese put him at once on an intimate footing with the camel men. Joining in their conversations, listening to their talk among themselves, he picked up much interesting lore about the age-old caravan trade, the ways and habits of camel men, their traditions, legends and superstitions. The caravan leader is a picked man, for only the fittest survives the hard school in which he learns his trade and gains that intimate knowledge of the camel and its ways which is indispensable to anyone aspiring to own a caravan.

But we learn much else as we accompany the author on his desert wandering. Whether he is describing a ride under the stars of an eastern sky or the rhythm of the camel bells of the caravan or the desert drenched in sunshine—always he makes us feel the spell which travel in the East casts on the traveller. But his appeal is not only to our emotions. He is a keen observer and has many interesting remarks on the political conditions of the countries and peoples with whom he comes in contact, while his knowledge of the literature dealing with the geography of Central Asia enables him to identify places on his route mentioned by previous travellers like Prjevalsky and Douglas Carruthers.

The only untoward incident of the journey was Mr.

Lattimore's detention at San t'ang Hu by a Chinese border patrol. But this interference with his freedom which might have been serious, did not last long, and on the 2nd of January, 1927, after a journey of 130 days from Kuei-hua he reached his goal, the city of Ch'eng-tze.

The book is well illustrated, the photographs giving an excellent idea of the desert landscape with its vast illimitable spaces. There are interesting pictures, too, of scenes from camp life and of the types of the population met with on the way. The author gives in an appendix a detailed summary of his route day by day, with the distances traversed between the different stages of the journey.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

THE RIM OF MYSTERY. By JOHN B. BURNHAM. A Hunter's Wanderings in Unknown Siberian Asia. 9 × 6½, xv + 281 pp., with 60 illustrations and a map. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929. 15*s*.

This book is an account of an expedition undertaken to find specimens of the mountain sheep, believed to inhabit the Chukotsk Peninsula in the north-eastern corner of Siberia, separating Bering Strait from the Arctic Ocean west of the Strait.

The existence of a former land bridge between Asia and America has been assumed in order to account for the striking likeness existing between human and animal types in these two regions and American biologists hoped that the discovery of mountain sheep in the Chukotsk would throw still further light on this interesting problem.

The expedition was of the kind to appeal to a hunter like Burnham, susceptible as he is to the "call of the wild". Perhaps the lure of the adventure was an even stronger motive than the hope of success, his subsequent experiences going far to prove that he was right in his theory that the sheep have been all but exterminated by the natives of the coast.

With infinite pains the author and his companion Andrew Taylor scoured every corner of the country where sheep were likely to be found, one specimen only falling to Burnham's gun. As the expedition has given us this book, however, we cannot regard it as having been made in vain.

Besides being exceedingly entertaining, it gives a great deal of varied and interesting information about a little known part of the world. The author describes for us the dwellings of the inhabitants, their garments, food, manner of living and eating. He paints the glories of colouring on the mountains, the gorgeous carpets of flowers to be found here and there in a country that yet has its great stretches of treeless desolation. He has something to say too about the political activities and aspirations of the various nations concerned in Siberian trade. On the way from Seattle to Nome in Alaska he met men who told him startling tales of their own adventures and of the activities of dare-devil traders in the far North, men for whom human life has no value, whose spirit is that of the buccaneer of the Middle Ages. There are grim tragedies connected with the whaling trade—stories of native populations wiped out by starvation owing to the rapacity and unscrupulous character of white traders.

Mr. Burnham gives full play to his excellent sense of humour in describing his experiences among the Eskimo and the Chukchi of that remote region. A sense of humour seems to be a very necessary part of one's outfit in dealing with these remarkable races whose unhygienic habits far outdo those of the Tibetans as described by Dr. Filchner and Mr. Macdonald.

There is one point in Mr. Burnham's comparison of the Eskimo and the Chukchi which is worth noting. He attributes to the Eskimo the custom of killing off their aged relatives. The article on the Eskimo in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* does not mention this custom as prevalent among them, whereas the article on the Chukchi in the same edition quotes Harry de Windt (*Through the Gold Fields of*

Alaska to Bering Strait, 1898) as its authority for the existence of the custom among these people. Possibly the Asiatic Eskimo have copied the custom from their Chukchi neighbours, Mr. Burnham's description tallying in every point with that given by De Windt in his book.

A study of the illustrations along with that of the text gives the reader an excellent idea of this part of the world, of its landscape, of its inhabitants and their manner of life. There is also a good map with which it is possible to follow every phase of Mr. Burnham's interesting quest.

A word as to the vocabulary of American writers That of Mr. Burnham and that of Mr. Lattimore prove the soundness of the argument that much of the difference between the American language and the English is due to the Americans having retained words which have dropped out of use in England. With the exception of terms of local usage, nearly all the words of both writers which sound unfamiliar to English ears, are to be found in an English dictionary. We must exclude the picturesque word "discomboberate", possibly invented by Mr. Burnham on the spur of the moment and in any case very effective in the circumstances in which it was used.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, Vol. II, Part I: KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS, with the exception of those of Aśoka. Edited by STEN KONOW, Ph D, Professor in the Oslo University. 13½ × 10 cxxvii + 193 pp, 1 map, and 36 plates Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929.

This volume, beautifully printed and illustrated with collotype plates by the Oxford University Press, appears soon after the centenary of the publication of Lassen's *Commentatio geographica atque historica de Pentapotamia Indica* in 1827; and it is therefore very appropriately

dedicated by Professor Sten Konow to the memory of his distinguished fellow-countryman, the founder of the study of ancient Indian history.

A comprehensive and scholarly collection of the Kharoshthī inscriptions of India has long been a desideratum Ever since the alphabet was deciphered from the bi-lingual coin-legends of the Græco-Indian kings, now nearly a hundred years ago, a great number of descriptions and editions of individual inscriptions have appeared in the Oriental Journals of India, Europe, and America, and in the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India; and in the course of time this literature had grown to an extent which made it almost unmanageable It was important in the interests of further research that all this widely scattered information should be condensed and put together in a convenient form, and this need has now been satisfied by Professor Konow. In this volume he has traced the history of each inscription He has described, whenever it has been possible to do so, the place and circumstances of its discovery, and he has recorded and examined the opinions and suggestions of previous editors before proceeding to state and to justify his own conclusions He has thus placed the study of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions on a new basis Our hope for future progress must now lie in the discovery of fresh records; and for the interpretation of these the chief source of help will be found in the vast store of facts and observations which have been so carefully accumulated and arranged in this volume. For this great achievement Professor Konow will receive the gratitude of all his fellow workers, even if some of the readings which he has adopted and some of the views which he has expressed fail to meet with the same unanimous approval.

Unfortunately many of the records known at present have been very badly preserved; and an editor has frequently to deal with letters which are partially or totally effaced. Many words therefore can only be restored conjecturally;

and it is important to remember that such readings ought not to be treated as if they were certain. Professor Konow too often neglects this caution; and he occasionally arrives at far-reaching historical conclusions on very insufficient evidence. His treatment of a passage in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription affords an instance. As we are told on p 57—

"Cunningham remarks that 'as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether'."

Professor Konow reads the first part of line 5 as *erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae*, and translates "in honour of Prince Kapa" (p 62) On the meaning and the historical significance of this passage he comments as follows :—

"Here *erjhuna* is evidently the same word which we find as *alysānai*, *eysānai* in the language of the ancient Iranian population of Khotan, the same language which the great Kushāna ruler Kanishka later on employed in his coin-legends. And Kapa is probably another and older Kushāṇa, who on *his coins is called* Kadapha, Kaphsa, Kapa, *etc* In the inscription he is designated as *erjhuna*, and as the corresponding *alysānai* is used to translate Skr *kumāra*, we may infer that he was then a young prince, and perhaps without any official position" (pp. xlviii–ix)

"If Kujūla Kadphises is the same person who is mentioned in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i e probably A.D. 19, he had not then reduced the four other *hi-hou*, and it is even possible that he had not yet risen to the rank of *hi-hou*. In such circumstances the designation *erjhuṇa* characterizing him in the inscription is quite intelligible" (p. lxii).

"We have no further dates to guide us. If we assume, however, that the *erjhuṇa* Kapa was about twenty years old at the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, we should be entitled to conclude from the Hou Han-shu that his death must have taken place about sixty years later, i e. about the year A D. 79" (p. lxvi).

"It seems to me that we have to do with the same person who later on conquered the remaining *hi-hous* and then started on his career of conquest, which first led to victory over An-si, i.e. the Parthian empire of the Guduvhara dynasty, and subsequently to the Kushāṇa empire" (p. 62).

Now, on what does all this elaborate historical reconstruction rest ? It rests on the acceptance of a reading, nearly every syllable of which has been called in question by one or other of the editors who have dealt with this most obscure passage. The matter will be made clearer if we transcribe the debatable portions of lines 4 and 5 as they appear in Plate XII and in the photograph reproduced by M Senart in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890 (XV) :—

(4) mi ra bo ya ṇa sa .

(5) e [rjhu] ṇa [ka] [pa] ——— . sa pu ya e

In the first place, it is by no means certain that the *e*, which comes at the beginning of line 5, is the initial syllable of a word. Professor Konow has not noticed that there is an indistinct syllable at the end of line 4 , and, if the stone has been broken at the edge, as is by no means unlikely, it is quite possible that another syllable may have been lost through the rough usage to which the stone has been subjected. In the circumstances a conjectural restoration [*puya*]*e* would not be improbable, especially since the word seems to be required by the genitive which precedes it

The next syllable [*rjhu*] is indeed a puzzle. M. l'Abbé Boyer read it as *jhṣu* : M. Senart preferred to leave it doubtful, and this is perhaps the wisest course Can this strange form possibly be the result of the confusion of two syllables ?

The *na* is certain ; the [*ka*] was read as *bh*[*u*] by M. l'Abbé Boyer ; [*pa*] was regarded as doubtful by M Senart, whose photograph seems rather to favour the reading *pu*

" After *Kapa* follows a wide gap, which," according to Professor Konow (p. 62), " has never carried any writing, having been left open on account of the roughness of the stone " Sir Alexander Cunningham was, however, evidently of a different opinion (v. sup , p. 188). In any case there are traces of writing—apparently of three syllables—coming before the *sa* which Professor Konow regards as the complement of *Kapa.* These traces seem to be certain ; but they are more distinctly visible in M. Senart's photograph than

in Plate XII. They are not sufficient to justify any attempt at restoration; but they at least show that the *sa* does not belong to the *Kapa*.

In these circumstances it is difficult to believe that Prince Kapa is anything more than a phantom; and with his disappearance there vanishes also the supposed reference to Kujūla Kadphises in the inscription of Gondopharnes.

Equally uncertain are the reading [*ka*]*i*[*sa*]*rasa* and its identification with the Roman title "Cæsar" (Ārā inscription, p 165).

It might well have been supposed that this matter had been settled once for all by Dr Fleet, who, after the most careful examination of a number of impressions specially made for him by Dr Spooner, wrote :—

> "I can only say that not one of the syllables is certain, except the second *sa* . . The first syllable may be either *ka* or *pa*, damaged in either case. What comes next seems to stand rather too low to be an *i* it might be the lower part of a conjunct consonant (perhaps *sta*) of which the top is damaged. The next mark certainly looks like part of a *sa* The next one after that might be, I think, a *ta* or *da* as much as a *ra*" (*JRAS.*, 1913, p 101)

In the face of these observations, which appear to be fully justified when they are tested by the photo-lithograph in Plate XXXII, is it still possible to maintain that Kanishka (II) is called "Cæsar" in the Ārā inscription?

Professor Konow attaches great importance to his reading and interpretation of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 (or 184), since he believes that this inscription "furnishes the proof that the historical Śaka era was not instituted by Kanishka" (p 80)

The year 187 of Professor Konow's "old Śaka era" (84–83 B.C.; v. inf, p. 192) would be equivalent to A D 103–4; and if the Mahārāja whose name appears in the inscription can be identified with Wima Kadphises, it is evident that Kanishka who was undoubtedly the successor of Wima Kadphises cannot have founded an era in A.D 78 The only

question to be determined is whether the inscription has been rightly attributed to Wima Kadphises or not.

Professor Konow reads the genitive of the king's name as *Uvima Kavthisasa* (p. 81), and as meaning "of Wima Kadphises" (p 80) Some of the syllables are admittedly doubtful To judge from the photograph of the inscription which is reproduced in Plate XV, the first syllable must be *u* or *a*; the second *ve* or *vi*, the last certainly *sa*. But here all certainty and all likelihood come to an end. Professor Konow's reading *ma Ka* is only obtained by ignoring "a curved line running downwards from the point where *ma* touches the angle of *ka* and apparently continuing to the left bar of *ma*"; and the following *vthi sa* might with equal probability—or improbability—be read as *thu syo* But it is futile to indulge in further conjectures until trustworthy impressions can be obtained of this inscription · the play of light and shade in a photograph is notoriously apt to mislead. All that can be said at present is that Professor Konow's reading is very far from being certain, and his identification of this Mahārāja with Wima Kadphises very far from being proved Moreover, it may be suggested that mere considerations of geography make it extremely improbable that any record of Wima Kadphises could be found in Ladakh! (v inf, p 199)

Professor Konow has formulated a scheme of chronology which is almost entirely his own In his Historical Introduction he arranges the Kharoshthī inscriptions of India into two main groups (pp lxxxii–iii)—A, an Older Group, dated in his "older Śaka era"; and B, a Later Group which, starting from the year 1, was first used by Kanishka and continued afterwards by his successors But, in the course of his discussion of the problems raised by various dates in the inscriptions of the period with which he deals, he finds evidence of the use of three other eras, viz. the Vikrama era, 57–56 B.C.; a Parthian era, 7 B.C; and the historical Śaka era, A D. 78 As to the existence of the Vikrama

era and the historical Śaka era, there is, of course, no question. The only doubt which can arise in connection with them is whether Professor Konow's explanation of their origin can be regarded as satisfactory or not. The three other eras have been invented by Professor Konow.

The arguments which he brings forward in support of his views deserve the most careful consideration. But, from the very nature of the subject, they are necessarily somewhat complicated, and they could scarcely be discussed in detail within the limits of a review All that can be attempted here is to give some account of each of these five eras, and to point out some of the consequences which must necessarily follow if the proposed system of chronology were adopted.

1 The old Śaka era, 84–83 B C , established in commemoration of the conquest of the Indus country by the Śakas of Seistān (pp. xxxii, xc–i).

Professor Konow's theory depends on the validity of two assumptions—(1) that Maues (Moga), the earliest known Śaka ruler in India, who admittedly came from Seistān, once a province of the Parthian empire, could not have borne the imperial title "Great King of Kings" before the death of Mithradates II (88 B C); and (2) that this era records the date of the conquest of the Indus country by the Śakas. Of these assumptions the former is most probably justified: the latter is by no means necessarily correct. It is at least possible that the invading Śakas may have brought with them into India the era to which they had been accustomed in their own country, even as did the Muhammadan and the European settlers in India

Dr. van Wijk has most carefully calculated in terms of B C and A D. the equivalents of all the Śaka dates occurring in inscriptions; but, if these calculations are based on an assumption, viz. that the starting point of this "old Śaka era" cannot possibly be earlier than 88 B C., they cannot be used as independent tests of the correctness of Professor Konow's theory

Moreover, if this theory be valid, we must suppose that Maues (year 78 of the Taxila copper plate) was alive in 6 B.C., and that he can scarcely have taken part in the Śaka conquest which was commemorated by the era of 84–83 B.C. It is quite true that, as is suggested, there may be earlier inscriptions dated in the same era, and it is even possible that one of the slabs of the Maira inscription of the year 58 (pp. 11–12) may actually have borne the name of Maues. Unfortunately the reading is doubtful, and this fragment, like so many other inscriptions described in this volume, has been lost. But in any case we should be forced to believe that there is a blank of at least half a century between the date of the Śaka conquest and the earliest traces of the existence of Śaka rulers in India. Is such a blank probable? Oriental conquerors have generally struck coins immediately after their victories as a notification to their new subjects of the change of masters; and in accordance with this rule the coins of Maues, if we may judge from their style, seem to follow closely on the coins of the Greek princes whose types they continue to bear. So late a date as 6 B.C. for Maues appears from the numismatic point of view to be impossible.

Moreover, the very short interval—twenty-five years at the most—which is all that this theory would permit between coinages so far removed in style as those of Maues and Gondopharnes (year 103 = A.D. 19; p. xlviii) is another very weighty objection: a much longer interval is postulated by those scholars who believe that between Maues and Gondopharnes there came Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II. Professor Konow, indeed, reduces the three reigns to one by regarding "Azes" and "Azilises" as merely different names for one and the same king, and by denying the existence of a second Azes; but it is doubtful if this somewhat drastic procedure can be justified. The conclusion that "Azes" and "Azilises" must be respectively the shorter and the longer forms of the same name has evidently been deduced from those coins on which the two names are found, one on either side; but it

is a mistake to assume that they must necessarily denote the same person.[1] And the hypothesis of a second Azes certainly seems to be required in order to explain the numismatic facts.[2]

2. The Vikrama era, 57–56 B C, founded by Vikramāditya, who ousted the Śakas and "celebrated his victory by establishing an era of his own" (p xxxvi).

In order to account for this well-known era which begins in 57–56 B C or, according to Dr Fleet, in 58 B C, Professor Konow has revived a story which has long ago been relegated to the region of legend He accepts as true the tradition preserved in the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*, "a work of unknown date," that—

> "after some time Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Śaka dynasty (i.e. the dynasty which was established in Ujjain, the capital of Mālava, after the overthrow of the last of the Gardabhilla kings), and established his own era" (p xxvii)

But surely this fiction was disposed of finally by Dr. Fleet in this *Journal* (1913, p 997)

> "Current appellations are no proof of origins The present name of the era of B C. 58 is, and has been for centuries, 'Vikrama-samvat', due to an Indian belief that the era was founded by a king Vikrama, Vikramāditya, who began to reign at Ujjain in that year and European scholars at first accepted that belief, and acted on it in shaping their views about ancient India Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A.D.:

[1] In support of his opinion Professor Konow quotes Professor Thomas and the authorities to whom he refers in *JRAS*. 1906, p. 208, but see Whitehead, Cat. Lahore Mus, vol i, *Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 132, note 1: "In connexion with the joint coinage of Azes and Azilises, I may mention the theory of G Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 142—that the names are the same, one being a contraction of the other. He apparently was led to this erroneous conclusion because he did not recognize the existence of what is really a joint type.' Such types are well known in the Indo-Greek series, e g joint types of Lysias and Antialkidas, of Vonones and his relatives, and of Spalirises and Azes."

[2] See the observations of Dr. Vincent Smith quoted by Professor Konow on pp. xxxix, xl.

and it has shown further that, not merely in A.D. 405, but for nearly five centuries from that time on to A.D. 879, the era was known as 'the reckoning of the Mālavas, the years of the Mālava lords, the Mālava time or era.'"

Dr. Fleet's statement could only be disproved by the production of some definite evidence to the contrary. Is any such evidence forthcoming? Is there a single inscription or coin testifying to the existence of a king named Vikramāditya who conquered the Śakas in the first century B.C.? Is there any mention in the Purāṇas of the dynasty which he is said to have founded? How can the legend be reconciled with the Purāṇas which say that after the Gardabhillas there came eighteen (or sixteen) Śakas?[1]

It is scarcely necessary to point out that, in the course of time, traditions are liable to be perverted, and that a great name is apt to be associated in the popular mind with events in which the bearer of that name played no part. The association of the name Vikramāditya with the era of 57–56 B.C. is easily understood, if we suppose that the memory of the actual founder of the era has been merged in that of the great Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, who became king of Mālava by conquest and put an end to the kingdom of the Śaka satraps of Surāshtra and Mālava, *c.* A.D. 400.

Of the use of this era in Kharoshthī inscriptions Professor Konow finds not a single example. Indeed, he holds that—

> "If Indian tradition is right in stating that the Vikrama era was instituted by Vikramāditya in order to commemorate his victory over the Śakas . . . it becomes unlikely that the Vikrama era is used in any of the inscriptions of the Śakas and Kushāṇas" (pp. lxxxvi–vii).

But he is obliged to invoke its assistance in order to explain the supposed year 72 in the Brāhmī inscription on the Āmohinī tablet at Mathurā (pp. xxxiv, xcii). The date of the Great Satrap Śoḍāsa is, therefore, according to Professor Konow, A.D. 15. But—in the opinion of the writer of this notice—the date is clearly not 72 but 42, and is equivalent

[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45–6.

to 15 B C.[1] ; *and it seems not unlikely that this unfortunate* misreading of the decimal figure as 70 instead of 40, perpetuated as it has been by its introduction into the text and plates of Buhler's *Indische Paläographie,* has been the chief disturbing cause which has induced some scholars to assign Kanishka to a date early in the second century A.D. rather than to A D 78.

3 A Parthian era, 7 B C, "instituted by Azes, the first Parthian ruler in North-Western India" (p xci), "one year before the date of the Taxila copper-plate" (p. xxxv).

This era is purely imaginary It has been invented simply and solely for the purpose of explaining "*vars*[*e*] 26" in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondopharnes There is not a particle of evidence for the existence of such an era. As Professor Konow himself admits. "This Parthian era is not used in other known records" (p xci)

The natural explanation of "year 26" in this inscription is, of course, that it is the regnal year of the king while "103" is the year of an era. Unfortunately this interpretation would be fatal to Professor Konow's theory which requires that year 78 of the Taxila copper plate and year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription should be in the same era. But is it not possible that the theory may be wrong ?

Equally fanciful is the suggestion that this supposed era was founded to commemorate the reassertion of Parthian supremacy over the Śakas There is no evidence of any such antagonism between Parthians and Śakas in India at this period, and this hypothesis only lands us in further difficulties. One of these is realized by Professor Konow himself, who tries to explain it with his usual ingenuity He undertakes to show how it might possibly have come to pass that the "Parthian" Azes, who founded an era to commemorate his conquest of the Śakas in 7 B C, was reigning as King of Kings in one region of North-West India, while at the same

[1] Rapson, *The date of the Āmohinī votive tablet of Mathurā,* in "Indian Studies in honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman", Harvard University Press, 1929.

time his defeated foe Maues, the suzerain of the Śakas, continued to rule as King of Kings at Taxila until the following year, 6 B C (pp. 43–4, 62). Our perplexity increases if we accept a suggestion, to which Professor Konow "cannot see any serious objection", that the funeral solemnities of Maues (Muki=Moga) are actually referred to in one of the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital which Professor Konow attributes to the period *c* A D 5–10 (pp 39, 47, 49) It is indeed not easy to believe in the reality of a conflict which thus lasted for twelve years and ended in the transference of the political supremacy over North-West India from Śakas to "Parthians", and which nevertheless has left no trace whatever of any such disturbance in the very abundant coinages of the two protagonists, Maues and Azes. Both of these suzerains struck coins with the same types and of similar style and at the same mints; they bear the same imperial titles both in their Greek and in their Kharoshthī coin-legends, the types of their coins are to a great extent borrowed or adapted from those of their Greek predecessors, and appear to be of a not much later date The numismatic evidence certainly seems to indicate that Maues and Azes belonged to the same dynasty and to an earlier period than that to which Professor Konow has assigned them [1]

4 The historical Śaka era of A D 78, "instituted by the Śaka king who made an end to Vikramāditya's dynasty" (p xcii), that is to say, by Wima Kadphises (p lxvii)

Professor Konow finds no instance of the use of this era in any of the Kharoshthī inscriptions which he publishes: and this dearth of examples requires a great deal of explanation One hypothesis calls for the support of another, and so on until the situation becomes somewhat confused.

> "This new era," it appears, "was intended for use in the country which had been reconquered, and it was not introduced in the provinces where the old Śaka reckoning had not been abolished. We therefore find north-western inscriptions, and

[1] See "Summary of Numismatic Evidence" in *Camb. Hist Ind.*, i, pp. 586 ff.

even the Khalatse record of the reign of Wima Kadphises, dated in the old Śaka era also after the introduction of the second Śaka era of A.D. 78. In Mālava itself the Vikrama era does not appear to have gone out of use. And we have already seen that it was introduced in Mathurā. Here we should expect to find the new Śaka era employed. It is, however, evident that Wima Kadphises did not make his power felt to any considerable extent in Mathurā" (p xciii).

There remain, therefore, it would seem, only the Western Kshatrapas who beyond question used an era which began in A D. 78 Now, satraps and other feudatories have in all periods of Indian history used the era of their suzerain. They have followed the example set by their supreme lord. Who was the suzerain whose example was followed by the Western Kshatrapas ?

As we have seen, we have been brought by Professor Konow to the extraordinary conclusion that Wima Kadphises was the founder of an era which he did not employ himself. He therefore set no example for the imitation of others. But such self-abnegation is certainly not in accordance with the usual custom of Indian suzerains, and we may reasonably wonder why an exception to the general rule should have been made in this particular instance

Professor Konow makes great use of the Khalatse inscription of the year 187, and he has decided that this is an undoubted record of Wima Kadphises bearing a date in the "old Śaka era" which is equivalent to A D 103–4 But can his belief be substantiated ? As we have seen (v sup, p 191), the reading of the Mahārāja's name as *Uvima Kavthisasa* is in the highest degree uncertain It affords a very insecure foundation for the far-reaching conclusions of Professor Konow, who states without any qualification that—

"The Khalatse inscription of the year 187, i.e. A.D. 103–4, shows that Wima Kadphises was on the throne long after the beginning of the Śaka era, which cannot, accordingly, have been instituted by Kanishka, his successor" (pp. lxvii–viii, cf. p. 80), and that "it also shows that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushaṇa* of the Taxila scroll, which is dated fifty years earlier, cannot well be Wima Kadphises" (p. 81).

But altogether apart from this conjectural reading and interpretation, we may well ask if it is in the least likely that any record of Wima Kadphises should be found at Khalatse which is "a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route" (p. 79). The latest and best account of this remote region is to be found in *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, by Dr. A. H Francke (vols xxxviii and l of the *Archæological Survey of India*, New Series) The editor of Part i, Professor J Ph. Vogel, thus describes the first part of Dr. Francke's adventurous journey :—

> "Starting from Simla on the 14th of June, 1909, he travelled up to Satluj Valley through the hill-state of Rāmpur-Bashahr, and by the Hang Pass (16,000 feet) reached Spiti. He then crossed the Pharang Pass (18,300 feet) and continued his journey through Rubshu along the wild shores of Lake Thsomo Riri. Two more mountain passes, the Phologongkha Pass (16,500 feet) and the Thaglang Pass (17,500 feet), had to be surmounted in order to enable the explorer to reach Ladakh, the real centre of the ancient realm of Western Tibet . . . Owing to the nature of the country to be traversed, the explorer had to march on foot most of the way from Simla to Śrīnagar, except where the rarified air compelled him to mount the yak—certainly not the most comfortable means of locomotion."

After reading the fascinating story of Dr. Francke's long journey, and realizing, however dimly, the difficulties and privations with which he had to contend week after week as he slowly made his way over mountain passes higher than Mont Blanc, we can only wonder if Professor Konow can possibly be correct in supposing that he has discovered traces of the rule of Wima Kadphises in this desolate and barely accessible region on the roof of the world.

Dr. Francke, at any rate, was under no such illusion. He attributes this and other similar inscriptions found in the same locality to "The ancient Kings of Kha-la-rtse" (Part ii, p 274); and this attribution is no doubt correct.

5. "The era of Kanishka," A.D. 128–9, "the third Śaka era" (p. xciii).

Professor Konow's reasons for determining the starting

point of the era employed in the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors are best explained in his own words :—

> "*An examination of the records dated in the era will show that in two of the inscriptions the nakshatra current on the day when they were executed is mentioned The Zeda inscription of the year 11 couples the Uttara-phalgunī with the 20th Āshāḍha, and the Und record of the year 61 the nakshatra Pūrvāshādha with the 8th Chaitra.*
>
> Such features do not occur every year, and in the case of these inscriptions, which are not too much removed in time from the Siddhāntas, it seems to be comparatively safe to apply their methods to our calculations.
>
> Dr van Wijk has done so and arrived at the result that the only set of years within the limits with which we can reasonably reckon which fulfils the conditions is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda and 3290 for the Und inscription The initial year of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A D 128–129" (p xciii).

There cannot be many Oriental scholars who are fully competent to criticize the abstruse astronomical and chronological calculations of Dr van Wijk, but both he and Professor Konow have done their best to explain them in articles published in the *Acta Orientalia*, vols iii and v Both writers, however, have felt constrained to utter words of caution as to the character of the results Thus Professor Konow : "I readily admit the hypothetical nature of every conclusion based on such materials" (vol iii, p 79); and Dr. van Wijk. "The reader will remark for himself that there remains a good deal of conjecture in these reductions" (ibid., p. 83)

The uncertainty of the results is indeed manifest when we find that the investigators have at different times arrived at different conclusions In *Acta Orientalia*, iii, p 78, we were told that "it will be seen that, according to the Sūrya-siddhānta, the initial date of the Kanishka era would fall in one of the years 79, 117, or 134 A D"; and the adherents of the view that Kanishka was the founder of the era which begins in A.D 78 were inspirited by the prospect of encouragement from a totally unexpected quarter, for, as Professor Konow, who himself preferred the year A D. 134, observed :

"It might be maintained that the earliest date, 79 A.D., would coincide with the epoch of the Śaka era if the years were counted as elapsed" (ibid., p 78). But now their hopes are dashed: year 79 seems to be out of the running, and a dark horse, year 128–9, whom no one ever thought of, is the favourite (*Acta Orientalia*, v, p. 169)

It is only fair to state that Professor Konow does not regard his theory as proved beyond all question: it is, in his opinion, the best working hypothesis But he has not strengthened his case by one of the arguments which he adduces in its favour:—

> "It is about this time that the Western Kshatrapa Chashtana evinces an increase in his national pride in reintroducing the Śaka name Ysamotika for his father, who called himself Bhūmaka" (p xciv).

It would indeed have been a strange way of showing his national pride if he had really changed his father's Indian name back to its Śaka form, and yet had given his son, Jayadāman, an Indianized name But as a matter of fact, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that there was any connection between Bhūmaka and Ysamotika If the two names have the same meaning in different languages, it is somewhat rash to assume that they were not used to designate two different people In ordinary life names are not usually given originally or changed subsequently by philologists. They are intended for the purely practical purpose of distinguishing one person from another But in the present instance it is unnecessary to insist on general considerations of this kind. It is quite clear from the coins that Bhūmaka and Ysamotika belonged to different families. Bhūmaka was a Kshaharāta: it is with the Rājā Kshaharāta Nahapāna that the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Bhūmaka was connected by family ties and not with the Rājā Kshatrapa (or Mahā°) Chashṭana, son of Ysamotika. The Ksharāta family to which Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonged was "rooted out" by the Andhra king Gautamīputra; and Chashṭana was the

first ruler in a new dynasty. All the genealogical lists begin with his name, and in them his father is never mentioned. When his father's name occurs on the coins of Chashtana it is not associated with any title He was therefore a private individual with no official status, for titles are not omitted on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas [1]

Professor Konow's working hypothesis therefore rests on a very precarious foundation; and it is not made probable by any very strong arguments If we accept it, we shall be obliged to suppose that this era, after having been used in inscriptions for at least ninety-eight years, took no permanent root, but vanished as if it had never been and left no trace of its existence in the subsequent history of India; whereas the era of A D 78 has survived even to the present day.

In conclusion it may be asked · Has Professor Konow shown that the scheme of chronology propounded in the *Cambridge History of India* is untenable ? Is there no cogency in the general considerations on which that scheme is based ?

> " The chronological difficulties connected with the Vikrama era of 58 B C and the Śaka era of 78 A.D. are well known; and it is universally admitted that the names which these eras bear were given to them at a later date, and afford no clue to their origin The view maintained in this work is that the eras in question mark the establishment of the Śaka and Kushāṇa suzerainties. The idea of suzerainty, that is to say, supreme lordship over all the kings of a large region—" the whole earth," as the poets call it—is deeply rooted in Indian conceptions of government, and the foundation of an era is recognized as one of the attributes of this exalted position. Now there is abundant evidence that the Śaka empire attained its height in the reign of Azes I and the Kushāṇa empire in the reign of Kanishka. It is natural to suppose therefore that such imperial eras must have been established in these reigns, and that their starting point in both cases was the accession of the suzerain." (*Camb. Hist Ind*, i, p viii.)

E J. Rapson.

[1] Rapson, B.M. Cat, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, pp. cviii, cxii.

KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED BY SIR AUREL STEIN IN CHINESE TURKESTAN. Part I: Text of Inscriptions discovered at the Niya Site, 1901. Transcribed and edited by A. M. BOYER, E. J. Rapson, and E. SENART. iv + 1–154 pp., plates i–vi. 1920. Part II. Text of Inscriptions Discovered at the Niya, Endere, and Lou-lan Sites, 1906–7. Transcribed and edited by the same. ii + 155–266 pp., plates vii–xii. 1927. Part III. Text of Inscriptions Discovered at the Niya and Lou-lan Sites, 1913–14. Transcribed and edited by E. J. RAPSON and P. S. NOBLE. With complete Index Verborum. viii + 267–380 pp., plates xiii and xiv. 1929. 13¼ × 10. Published under the authority of H.M. Secretary of State for India in Council by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

The first part of this work was reviewed by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *Journal* for April, 1921, but it seemed best to include it again here for the sake of completeness.

This magnificent volume is a worthy companion to the great discoverer's own works. It can very seldom have occurred that any collection of Oriental documents has been edited with such scrupulous care and accuracy as these. Wisely eschewing the practice of prefixing ill-digested prolegomena to pioneer works of this kind, the editors have preferred to add their remarks at the end, and in the Third Part we have two admirable monographs, one on the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet as used in the inscriptions, the other on the regnal years.

If any criticism is to be directed against this work it can take only one form, that the editors have been unduly diffident in expressing their opinions on matters in which they felt that they could not speak with complete confidence, and that they have assumed perhaps too high a standard of knowledge in their readers. Thus they have refrained not only from appending translations to their texts, but even from inserting a summary or indication of contents in the

headings. Similarly, in the Index Verborum they have refrained from adding either translations or even the Sanskrit equivalents of the words recorded.

It may be that this decision was a wise one, but it is patent that other students must begin the study of these texts at a point very little ahead of that at which the surviving editors began years ago; we cannot but express the hope that they will regard it as an obligation of honour to complete their work by rendering the contents as well as the texts of these inscriptions available to their fellow students as soon as possible. For here we have great riches. To the historian, this mass of 764 official, business, and private documents which were written in towns on the great Eurasian silk-route, when it was at the height of its importance, cannot but be of the most profound interest. Even the Classical scholar must feel his curiosity aroused when in the recesses of Central Asia he finds such words as *drakhma* (δραχμή), *sadera* (στατήρ), and *milima* (probably μέδιμνος) in current use The student of Iranian philology, too, must look forward to a rich feast when the Prakritists have disentangled from the intricacies of this unfamiliar dialect the rich substratum of local Iranian words, and when he has done his best with the remainder, who can tell whether there may not still be a residue for the students of other Central Asian languages? It may seem ungracious, immediately the products of nearly thirty years' work are laid before us, to clamour for more, but we do. G. L M. CLAUSON.

GLOSSARY OF THE SANSKRIT, TIBETAN, MONGOLIAN AND CHINESE VERSIONS OF THE DAŚABHŪMIKA-SŪTRA. Compiled by J. RAHDER. (BUDDHICA. Documents et Travaux pour l'Etude du Bouddhisme, publiés sous la Direction de JEAN PRZYLUSKI. Deuxième Série: Documents, Tome I.) 10½ × 7½, viii + 202 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

The word "Glossary" in the title of this book is somewhat misleading, since the words listed are not translated into any

European language. It is, in fact, a list of Sanskrit words with Tibetan, Mongol, and Chinese equivalents.

Such works make a poor show compared with the enormous amount of labour which their preparation entails and the compiler is to be congratulated on the result. It is, however, sincerely to be hoped that the promised Indices of Tibetan and Chinese words will shortly be forthcoming, since without them the work is deprived of much of its value.

Even so, however, the book is of considerable importance, particularly to the student of Chinese Buddhism, since the various terms used by the Chinese translators of different periods to translate the same Sanskrit word are carefully distinguished.

The compiler's avowed object is to collect material which will in due course render it possible to reconstruct lost Sanskrit originals of which translations have survived. It is perhaps questionable whether this ambition for reconstruction is a laudable one The collection of equivalents between the various languages is a matter of considerable importance, since without such assistance some translated Buddhist texts are almost unintelligible, but surely the immediate necessity in the field of Northern Buddhism is not the reconstruction of further texts to add to the enormous mass of existing literature, but the translation of the existing texts.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is the collection of Mongol equivalents The compiler had much to compete with in the way of typographical inadequacy, but even so words printed from left to right in Mongol characters, i.e. for practical purposes, upside down, are a sore trial to the eyes and the temper. It is surprising that the compiler did not follow the practice adopted for the Tibetan equivalents and transliterate the Mongol; this would have saved space and a good deal of trouble.

Nevertheless, the compiler is to be congratulated on producing a valuable piece of pioneer work.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE MONGOL TRIBES (MONGOLS, BURIATS, KALMUCKS). Parts I–III. By V. A. RIASONOVSKY, Professor of the Harbin Faculty of Law (China). 10½ × 7½, 310 pp Harbin, China. "Artistic printinghouse," 1929.

This interesting book is apparently an English translation by the author himself of a book written originally in Russian. Russian scholars of Mongol in the past have been so much accustomed to enshrining the products of their researches in the comparative obscurity of their own language, that we owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the author and his "printinghouse" for this courageous attempt to appeal to a wider audience. The book is stuffed full of misprints, as might have been expected, but even so it cannot be said to compare so very unfavourably with the output of some of the Indian presses. The solution of most of them is not a matter of great difficulty, but the reviewer thinks it well to put it on record for the benefit of other readers that the word "columns" in a list of offences on page 35 is to be read "calumny".

A more tiresome failing of the book is the failure, in most cases, to give the necessary means of identifying the various works quoted. A number of references occur in the footnotes, but, if no more is given on the first occasion when a book is quoted than the author's name without initials, the short title of the book and occasionally the date of publication, and on further occasions than the short title, the process of identifying the work quoted may be a long one, particularly if the title is no more distinctive than, say, "History of Jengiz Khan". It is much to be regretted that a full bibliography was not given. Other examples of lapses from the usual canons of scientific accuracy could be given.

Nevertheless the author has made a valuable contribution to the literature not only of Mongol studies but also of comparative jurisprudence, since his work contains a summary, more or less full according to the circumstances, of the contents

of all the most important surviving codes of Mongol law. As that law is an admirable specimen of the traditional law of a people living in a purely nomadic state, it is easy to realize that the account is full of interest.

It is not difficult to see that the author is more at home in law than in Mongol, for instance, in his translation of the famous Minussinsk *pai-tzŭ* on p 26, he has accepted a translation, the inaccuracy of which was demonstrated over sixty years ago. In details of translation, therefore, the book should not be accepted as one requiring no further verification, but as a general introduction to the subject it can be recommended without reserve.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE TOYO BUNKO. No. 2 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$, 146 pp. Tokyo, 1928.

This number consists of the first part of an article "Of P'u Shou-kêng" by Dr. Jitsuzō Kuwabara and "A Study of Su-tê or Sogdiana" by Dr. Kurakichi Shiratori. The first is buried in an overwhelming mass of notes which, however, contain an extremely interesting series of quotations from Chinese authors. P'u, whom Chinese biographers call a native of Ch'uan-chou, was in fact, it seems, a foreigner and superintendent of foreign trade at Ch'uan-chou at the end of the Sung dynasty. And so Dr. Kuwabara is able to attack at great length the old familiar questions of the date of foreign trade at Ch'uan-chou, the equivalence of Zaitun, and of Kinsay, etc. Zaitun, he concludes, is "of course" Tz'ŭ-t'ung; but he produces only two examples of Tz'ŭ-t'ung ch'êng, both from poets, and one of them not a case of the name of the place at all, but a playful remark that at Ch'uan-chou they make their city walls of trees and their bamboo sprouts of stone. What the *Ch'üan chou fu chih* says is that the place might be called (as indeed it sometimes was called) T'ung ch'êng. As far as I can see neither T'ung ch'êng nor Tz'ŭ-t'ung

ch'êng is in the *P'ei wên yün fu* or in *Giles*, and *Tz'ŭ yüan* has only T'ung ch'êng. It seems to be quite possible that Zaitun was, as Andrew of Perugia says, the Persian name, and not a Chinese word at all. So Ibn Batūta was prepared to accept Khansā (Hang-chou) as a Persian word, "just like the name of the poetess," but had not troubled to find out what it really was. Dr. K. is sure that Khansā, Kinsay, or the like, is the Chinese Hsing-tsai, unconscious that he has been anticipated in this suggestion by Professor Vissière and Mr. Waley Here again he produces no evidence that Hsing-tsai was ever a popular name which foreigners would be likely to pick up, nor does he give even as much evidence as was given in this *Journal* in 1917, to show what Hang-chou was actually called in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

By correcting the translation of 甲令 *chia ling* from "Kling ?" to "According to the regulations", Dr. K. transfers the priority in the use of the mariners' compass from the Arabs, to whom Hirth had assigned it (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 30), to the Chinese Hirth, who is very diffident about his Kling, remarks, however, that the ships were "certainly" not Chinese.

Other subjects upon which very interesting quotations will be found in these learned notes are the export of coin and precious metals, medieval extraterritoriality, the inter-marriage of foreigners with Chinese, black slaves in China, paddle-wheel boats (omitting their use at the siege of Hsiang-yang), and many more. The printing both of English and Chinese might be more accurate.

The second paper is in form just the opposite of the first. That is to say that Chinese texts are not quoted in the original, and that notes are reduced to the briefest possible remarks or generally references to books. It is impossible here to deal in any detail with the writer's closely reasoned and very important argument for the identification of Sogdiana (either the whole district or one particular part of it) with various

Chinese names which appear in the histories from the *Shih chi* to the *T'ang shu*, but it must be obvious at once that we have here a very important contribution to the subject with which all future students must make themselves familiar.

This whole number brings home to us the extent and value of the research work which is being done in the Far East and of which we in England are too often unaware.

A. C. MOULE.

SINICA FRANCISCANA, Vol. I. Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV collegit, ad fidem codicum redegit et adnotavit P. ANASTASIUS VAN DEN WYNGAERT O.F.M. 10 × 7, vii–cxviii + 3–637 pp., with map. Quaracchi, apud Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929.

The travels, stories, and letters of the Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries form, as is well known, not merely a history of wonderful missionary enterprise, but the principal medieval source of information next to (and sometimes superior to) Marco Polo about Central Asia and China, and so this volume which gives all the most important texts in the best critical form which has yet appeared will be of the utmost interest and service to students. *Sinica* is not limited to China Proper, for the complete texts of Carpini and Rubruquis who never reached China are included, but it is interpreted to exclude authors who deal solely with the Near East, Persia, and India. Each text is printed from the best available manuscript, with the variants of other important MSS. and brief explanatory notes at the foot of the page, and with Prolegomena which deal with the writer, the source, and so forth. For Odoric the author records ninety-four MSS. as against Cordier's seventy-six, but he does not profess to have examined, far less to have collated, this large number. His dependence (always acknowledged) on his predecessors is sometimes too great. Thus in his first Latin MS. at Berlin he repeats Yule-Cordier's number 131, for 141; and he has naturally misunderstood the obscurely

worded note. They did not mean that the MS. contained the "Hakluyt text" in the technical sense, but that it contained the "Henry de Glatz text" of Odoric's *Itinerary* (as opposed to another book) which Hakluyt printed. Hakluyt is introduced to make clear which *book*, not which *text*, is referred to. On the other hand, Sir Thomas Phillipps's Latin MS. is correctly transferred from Cheltenham to Berlin. We are grateful for having here printed at last the famous Assisi text of Odoric which for awhile enjoyed the undeserved reputation of being the actual original of 1330. No explanation of the "Minor Ramusian" Italian text is offered. Some progress has at last been made towards explaining the Ramusian text of Marco Polo, but the origin of the shorter Odoric seems to be as elusive as ever.

Enough will have been said to make clear the very great importance to students and to general readers (of Latin) of this collection into one convenient and very well printed volume of authoritative texts of all the great Franciscan missionary travellers to the Far East from Carpini to Marignolli, and the succeeding volumes of the series will be eagerly awaited.

A. C. M.

THE MONKS OF KÛBLÂI KHÂN EMPEROR OF CHINA OR THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF RABBAN SÂWMÂ, ENVOY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE MONGOL KHÂNS TO THE KINGS OF EUROPE, AND MARKÔS WHO AS MÂR YAHBHALLÂHÂ III BECAME PATRIARCH OF THE NESTORIAN CHURCH IN ASIA. Translated from the Syriac by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, with 16 plates and 6 illustrations in the text. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xiii–xvi + 1–335 pp. London: Religious Tract Society, 1928. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The book with this portentous title is the well-known history of Mar Jabalaha III and Rabban Çauma (to adopt the less ferocious-looking French spelling of Dr. J.-B. Chabot, who published a complete French version in 1893, 4). Nothing can

deprive the book itself of its importance or of its fascinating interest, but it could have been wished that when at last it appeared in English it might have been in a more attractive and worthy form. The long introduction, though not without merit, gives the impression of having been rather hurriedly made, and the author has been occasionally content with a low standard of accuracy, and the text itself is sometimes made unreadable by the objectionable modern habit of introducing notes in square brackets being allowed to go absolutely mad. Take this from p 144. "Ye shall go to King ABGHÂ [or ABÂGHÂ KHÂN, or ABÂKÂ KHÂN, the son and successor of HÛLÂGÛ KHÂN, and great grandson of Chingiz Khân, who ascended the throne of Persia as the second Mongol Khân in 1265], and obtain for us PUKDÂNÊ (i.e. written orders, or letters patent confirming his appointment as Catholicus)" And the two monks said unto him, "Thus shall it be, but let Mâr our Father send with us a man who shall take the *Pukdânâ* [from the king] and give it to him (i.e. the Catholicus), and we will go on from there to JERUSALEM." On the very next page we have "ABHGHÂ KHÂN" and "the written orders (*Pukdânê*)". One cannot but admire the consistency with which the author uses his very elaborate transcription of Syriac, but Chinese has its own troubles and must not be asked to bear such extra burdens as Shânsi or Hô-tchung-fu (p. 130). On p. 135, in "sons-in-law of the King of Kings, KÛBLÂI KHÂN", Kublai Khan is not in the Syriac and is erroneously added from Chabot's French. Nor was Kaidu (p. 139) a nephew of Kublai Khan, whatever Marco Polo may say to the contrary.

The description of the cross on the "Nestorian Stele" (plate x) reads: "It stands in the middle of a dense cloud which is symbolic of Muḥammadanism, and upon a lotus, which symbolizes Buddhism; its position indicates the triumph of the Luminous Religion of Christ over the religions of Muḥammad and the Buddha." The statement of this kind of fanciful speculation as an ascertained fact is to be depre-

cated. Why should so common an ornamental feature as the cloud symbolize Muhammadanism, which seems to have been little conspicuous at the time? And when Buddha sits upon the lotus he does not triumph over but is supported by it; and why should this not be true of the Cross also?

But, once more, nothing can deprive the story of its fascination or importance, and we hope a second edition may soon let us read it, freed of its little faults and of the square brackets, with unimpeded enjoyment.

A. C. M.

TU FU THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE POET, A.D. 712–770, including an Historical Year Record, a Biographical Index, and a Topographical Note, as well as Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Arranged from his poems and translated by FLORENCE AYSCOUGH. I: A.D. 712–759. 9½ × 6½, 450 pp. London: Jonathan Cape; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. 21*s*. net.

This is a book of great interest and importance, for in it Dr. Florence Ayscough has chosen to give us in a considerable volume a sustained example of her special method of translation applied to the beautiful and difficult poems of so great a man as Tu Fu. The translator's views on the right way to translate Chinese are too well known to need detailed description. A special feature of this book is that the type is spaced so as to show which word or words of the English represent one word of Chinese:—

The day   I went out   from door   is already   far off;
a device which, without spoiling the look of the page as one might have guessed it would do, is of the greatest help to any who wish to test the translation by comparing it with the original. The impression made by a first reading is that the method of translation is destined to make good its claim to be a serviceable and even an admirable way of representing

Chinese poetry to English readers. But at the same time it will be obvious that the translator who uses the method is peculiarly liable to be deceived about the intelligibility of the result. Dr. Ayscough has read the original, pored over it and over the commentaries, copied it out, looked out each word in the dictionary, translated and retranslated it all, till even the baldest of her literal versions recalls to her the meaning and the beauty of the original quite adequately, and it would need a very great effort to see that for a reader who knows no Chinese the same words may have no meaning or beauty at all. What for instance is the meaning of :—

> " Golden lotus, lengthened by the wind, stretch kingfisher girdles "

(p. 297) ? Whether a " golden lotus " is a torch, a lady's foot, or a " goolden zummer clote ", the line remains mysterious in sense and grammar, and the context does not help. Dr. Ayscough repeats her defence of the use of analysis of the written word as a means of adding " overtones ", and an interesting test case will be found on p. 292 · " sun sinks through grass at earth's rim." This phrase is the version of one Chinese word which is mentioned in the Preface (p. 9) as a typical instance of the use of analysis ; but here Tu Fu is in the high-walled palace and can hardly have chosen the word to suggest the picture of the " grass at earth's rim " —unless he was using a periscope. But for one such case of obscurity or of exaggerated analysis the reader will find whole pages of lucid and simple writing which will give even the uninitiated a genuine idea of the feeling and form of the Chinese lines.

The editing is done in a critical and scholarly manner, but there are one or two points which might have been further discussed, and particularly the dates of Tu Fu's birth and death. The dates, 712–770, of Giles's *Biographical Dictionary* are accepted without question as against 708–766 of the *Chiu t'ang shu* (c. 190*c* fol. 4 r°) which Chavannes preferred.

The indications in the poems seem to be inconsistent and in any case depend for their value on the accuracy with which the poems have been dated in the *Tu shih ching ch'üan*, the edition which is here followed. Thus on p. 111 the poet says he will be forty (or forty-one ?) when the year 751 begins, but it is not told us why the year is fixed at 751 rather than 750. On p 344 " my years are half one hundred " apparently in 759. Tu Fu frequently refers to the River Wei, with which he must have been familiar, as clear, and twice at least to the Ching as muddy, in contradiction of the Ch'ien-lung opinion which is followed by both *Giles* and the *Tz'ŭ yüan.* The quotations in the *P'ei wên yun fu* are decidedly against the modern view, and a note on this point also might have been interesting, as the difference between the two rivers is proverbial. Or did the poets call the Wei clear from deference to the accepted explanation of a classical phrase, in conscious defiance of the fact ?

It remains to congratulate the translator and publishers very heartily on the production of so important a book in so delightful a form, where print, paper, illustrations, and covers all add to the reader's pleasure.

A. C. M.

REVUE D'HISTOIRE DES MISSIONS, DECEMBER, 1928. 10½ × 7. Quarterly, 52 Avenue de Breteuil, Paris, VIIe.

The elevation by the Holy See of six Chinese to episcopal rank aptly coincided with the sixth centenary of the death of the first Catholic missionary to China

John of Monte Corvino, near Salerno, a Franciscan monk, died at the age of 82 at Khan-Baliq (Peking) in 1328, being at the time Archbishop, and head of a community of some 100,000 persons. He received a sumptuous public funeral, and was honoured by members of many races and religions.

An abstract of his career by the Rev. J. de Ghellinck, S.J., is the principal feature of this number. It is well documented, and shows that John of Corvino had that combination of

courage, tact, probity and physical endurance necessary in a pioneer and leader of men.

The Grand Khans of his day, from the great Kublai (世 祖) to T'ai Ting Ti (泰 定 帝) had to deal with people of many religions, among which Buddhism (presumably of the Lamaistic type) was most notable. Archbishop John and his fellow-Franciscans were aware that China held 42,000 temples and 213,000 monks, and they remarked on the austerity of the Buddhist rule. The Khans themselves were tolerant, being in much the same position as the illustrious K'ang Hsi of later times. but considerable hostility was shown to the Catholics by the Moslems and Nestorians.

The latter had separated themselves from the main body of Christendom after the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and spread rapidly over Northern and Eastern Asia: in 1289 Kublai established a special government office for the regulation of the exercise of the Nestorian religion. Their virtual disappearance under the Ming Dynasty—for the Jesuit mission of the sixteenth century found no trace of them, apart from the famous Nestorian Tablet—is one of the most curious features of China's religious history.

Archbishop John's account of the reconciliation to Catholicism of George, a "Tenduk" (or Tungus ?) chief, is interesting. George is described as a Nestorian, of the dynasty of the fabled "Prester John". and many of his people followed his example Still more curious was the proposal to translate the Mass (of the Latin rite) into the vernacular in order to celebrate it in that tongue: but it is not recorded that the application for this important liturgical concession reached Rome. Nothing came of the project, and at the death of George his people apparently drifted into other beliefs.

After a certain amount of experience in Armenia and Persia, John of Monte Corvino seems to have had considerable success among the speakers of Mongol and Uigur in China. He translated, apparently into Mongol, the whole of the

New Testament and the Psalter: he had six pictures painted, illustrating Biblical subjects, with simple inscriptions in Latin, Uigur and Persian. The only relic that has come down to us, however, is his little Bible in parchment, preserved in the Laurentiana at Florence.

With the fall of the Yuan Dynasty the small band of Alan and Armenian Christians, and the light-minded Mongol converts, ebbed like a retreating flood into the turbulent sea of "Tartary"—and there history loses them. No trace remains of any linguistic or other contact between John of Corvino and Chinese China: the two-and-a-half millions of Chinese who are Catholics to-day represent the work of Matteo Ricci and his successors during the last three centuries.

Only those who can visualize medieval transport can know how John of Corvino was hampered by distance from Europe, by the deaths of his envoys and helpers: by travel on sea and land—camel-riding, as we are quaintly told, "quorum equitatus terribilis est", and, most of all, by linguistic troubles. We can but wonder that he did so much, and sympathize with a brave, simple, learned, big-hearted man.

The latter part of the "Revue" sheds much light on the real condition of China, as seen by missionaries living in close contact with the people incidentally it reveals a spirit of hostility to Christianity in the actions of the "government"—where there is any—which belies its professions of an "enlightened Western outlook", and compares unfavourably with the statesmanship of rough old Kublai Khan and his House.

Many of the books and papers referred to on pp. 40 and onwards are likely to be useful to Members of this Society.

G. W. M.

OBITUARY NOTICES

The Right Hon. Sir E. M. Satow, G.C M.G.

By the death of the Right Honourable Sir Ernest Mason Satow, G.C.M.G., which occurred on the 26th August last at Ottery St. Mary, Devon, the Royal Asiatic Society has lost one of its most distinguished Honorary Members who enjoyed world-wide fame as a great Far-Eastern Diplomatist and the highest reputation for his exceptional knowledge of the history, language, and literature of Japan.

Sir Ernest was born on the 30th June, 1843, so had reached the ripe age of 86. He was educated at Mill Hill School and University College, London, and in 1861 was appointed a Student Interpreter in H.M. Consular Service in Japan at the early age of 18. Having spent the first six months at Peking in the study of Chinese, he arrived in Japan at a most critical time in her history when the authority of the Shogun, commonly known as the Tycoon, which had been pre-eminent for centuries in the administration of the affairs of the Island Kingdom, was waning and the party of the Mikado was beginning to reassert the rights of the Emperor to real supremacy in the Empire. At this time Sir Harry Parkes was our Minister in Japan, having been appointed to that important post when only 38 years of age, and Lord Redesdale, then Mr. Mitford, was an attaché from the Foreign Office in the British Legation and was closely associated with Sir Ernest. In his interesting Memoirs, which give such a vivid, lively, and interesting account of the stirring times in which Sir Harry, Sir Ernest, and he played such an important part, frequently at the risk of their lives, he says: "Parkes had at his elbow a man of extraordinary ability in the person of Satow. He it was who . . . by an accurate study of Japanese customs and traditions realized and gave true value to the position of the Shogun, showing that the Mikado alone was the sovereign of Japan. Nor was

this all. His really intimate knowledge of the language, combined with great tact and transparent honesty, had enabled him to establish friendly relations with most of the leading men in the country; thus, young as he was, achieving a position which was of incalculable advantage to his chief." And further he states. "I was nominally the senior and had to draw up the reports of our proceedings, but I may say once for all that his (Satow's) was the brain which was responsible for the work which I recorded. It is difficult to exaggerate the services which he rendered in very critical times and it is right that this should not be forgotten." The part that Sir Ernest played during this time of storm and stress in Japan commenced in 1863 when Kagoshima was bombarded on account of the Richardson affair and he accompanied the British Chargé d'Affaires on board H.M.S. *Argus*. He was also present in the following years at the destruction of the Shimonoseki Forts The friendly relations which were subsequently established between the Legation and the leaders of the two Clans, which were responsible for those hostilities and which ultimately played the most important part in depriving the Shogun of his authority and re-establishing the power of the Mikado, were chiefly due to the special knowledge possessed by Sir Ernest which enabled him to explain the true situation to his chief, Sir Harry Parkes, who in his turn was able to prevent any attempt at foreign intervention by uniting the representatives of the various foreign powers in a policy of neutrality. In 1868, the year which saw the final triumph of the Mikado's party over that of the Shogun, Sir Ernest was appointed Japanese Secretary to the Legation and remained in that post till 1884, when he was promoted to be Agent and Consul General at Bangkok and Minister Resident in 1885. He was called to the Bar in 1887 and in 1888 was transferred to Montevideo as Minister Resident. In 1893 he was promoted to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Morocco. He received the honour of K.C.M.G. in 1895, having been made a C.M.G. in

1883, and in May, 1895, he was appointed British Minister in Japan. He found that country much changed from the Japan with which he had been first acquainted. She had just succeeded in defeating China, but owing to the intervention of Russia, Germany, and France, she had been forced to hand back to China Port Arthur and the Kuantung Peninsula. Great Britain took no part in that intervention and was also the first of the European powers to agree to Treaty Revision. He therefore found Japan well disposed towards his own country, and by his ability and tact he was able to still further promote the good feeling that existed and to carry to a successful issue in the summer of 1899 the new arrangements under the revised Treaty, according to which British subjects came under Japanese jurisdiction and extra-territoriality was abolished. In October, 1900, Sir Ernest was transferred to Peking as Envoy Extraordinary and High Commissioner. The Boxer trouble had been suppressed but had left behind it many difficult problems which had to be solved by the representatives of the various Powers at Peking. It was fortunate that Great Britain had at this critical time a representative who was held in such high esteem and whose prestige carried such weight, for it is generally recognized that to his influence, moderation, and advice was in no small measure due the Peace Protocol of the 14th January, 1901.

He was advanced to G.C.M G. in 1902, an honour which was indeed fully deserved, and in 1906 he retired from Peking, forty-five years after his first visit to it as a Student Interpreter in 1861.

On his return to England he was sworn a Privy Councillor in July, 1906, and in October of the same year he was appointed a British Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague and took part in the Second Peace Conference there in 1907 as one of the British Plenipotentiaries. Honorary degrees, the D.C.L. of Oxford, the LL.D. of Cambridge, the Ph.D. of Marburg, and Honorary Membership of the

Royal Asiatic Society were conferred on him. He was a great scholar, a devoted student, a lover of books, and an enthusiastic gardener. He was the author or editor of several valuable works dealing with the Far East and a contributor of scholarly articles to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan* and the *Transactions* of other learned Societies. He edited the first and second editions of Murray's *Handbook to Japan*, being assisted by Lieut. A. G. Hawes and in collaboration with M. Ishibashi compiled an English-Japanese Dictionary. He edited for the Hakluyt Society *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan in 1613*; in 1917 he published his *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, a work distinguished by its learning and research, and was the author of *A Diplomat in Japan, 1921*. When leaving Morocco for Japan in 1895, he presented the Society's Library with a large number, about one hundred, rare and valuable books, mostly of travel. Bishop Gore in a letter to *The Times* of 30th August last states that " he was a scholar of rare distinction, not in Japanese only but in Latin, Italian, and Spanish, and his knowledge of English literature was wide and discriminating He was also a deeply religious man with a great understanding of the principles of the religious life both in the general and the technical sense. The relation of the one to the other was simply but beautifully expressed in the preface he wrote to Mother Agnes Mason's translation of St. Theresa's *Foundations*. All those who enjoyed his friendship will feel that they have lost a unique privilege. It was characteristic of his sympathy with the various peoples among whom he served in his diplomatic career that he once remarked to me that ' no diplomat should be left for long in any foreign country, for, if he is a decent fellow, he very soon understands their point of view so well as to forget what he is there to represent.' "

And the late Bishop Paget of Oxford in a letter to his son, written on the 19th July, 1911, and which appears in his *Life*, states: " He (Sir Ernest Satow) is quite delightful—a

diplomatist of the very best type, strong, able, quiet, cultivated, humorous, with great and wide experience. I think I've never met anyone more really attractive."

The writer enjoyed the privilege of his friendship and will always remember the kind hospitality he received from him at Peking at a time when he was busy dealing with the vexed problems that arose after the Boxer troubles. He was a most hospitable and kindly host, whose conversation was full of charm and interest though his natural modesty made him refrain from making himself appear in any way the protagonist in the stirring incidents in which he had played the chief part, and which he could so graphically describe His excellent personal qualities and his eminence as a scholar and a diplomat will always make the name of Satow one that will be held in the highest esteem by those who know what manner of man he was and realize how devotedly and successfully he served his country.

J. H. Stewart Lockhart.

George Rusby Kaye

Kaye was born in Leicester in 1866 and educated at Wyggeston Grammar School there, and at St. Mark's College, Chelsea. He went to India first to take a mastership at Bishop Cotton School, Simla, and was subsequently appointed Headmaster of the Boys' High School, Allahabad, and afterwards of the Byculla Boys' School, Bombay. From there he went to Lucknow as Vice-Principal of the Government Training College, and in 1903 to Allahabad in a similar capacity. Shortly afterwards he was transferred to the Bureau of Education in Simla, where he began and carried on until his retirement in 1923 the series of publications on Indian mathematics and astronomy which constituted his life's work. His first articles were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* "(Notes on Indian Mathematics: I Arithmetical Notation, II Āryabhaṭa," in

vol. iii, July, 1907, and vol. iv, March, 1908; "The Use of the Abacus in Ancient India," in vol. iv, June, 1908). His point of view was in the nature of a reaction against exaggerated claims of originality and antiquity for Indian mathematics, and was afterwards summarized by him in his contribution to this Journal (*JRAS*. 1910, pp. 749–60), on "The Source of Hindu Mathematics," in which he underlined suspicions cast on the authenticity of the apparently early inscriptions in which place-notation is used. His attention was naturally drawn to the very old birchbark manuscript of a mathematical work which is named after its find-place, Bakhshālī, and in 1912 he gave an account of it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (vol. viii, pp. 349–61: "The Bakhshālī Manuscript"), foreshadowing the views which he was to develop as editor of the manuscript fifteen years later. For the time being (his activities for the next ten years were to be directed to Indian astronomy rather than mathematics) he summed up his views on this subject in his book *Indian Mathematics* (Calcutta, 1915). His conclusions have been challenged; most recently by Dr. Walter E. Clark in a contribution ("Hindu-Arabic Numerals") to the Harvard University *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (1929). Into the merits of this controversy a layman cannot go; but it seems not improbable that Kaye went rather further in his reaction against older views than the evidence warranted.

His special qualifications now marked him out for certain work on behalf of the Archæological Department of the Government of India (to which he was appointed Honorary Correspondent), the outcome of which was a series of publications on Indian astronomy and astronomical instruments and observatories. In 1918 appeared his "Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh" (*Archæological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series, vol. xl); in 1920 *A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares* (Calcutta); in 1921 "Astronomical Instruments in the Delhi Museum"

(*Archæological Survey of India*—Memoirs, No. 12); and finally, in 1924, his general account of the subject, "Hindu Astronomy" (*Archæological Survey of India*—Memoirs, No. 18). In the latter year was also publishedhis *Index to the Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archæology in India, 1902 to 1916*. His services were recognized in 1921, when he received the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal of the First Class.

After his retirement from India in 1923 he was appointed cataloguer of the European Manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library (exclusive of the Temple Collection), so far as these had not already been described in S. C. Hill's catalogue of the Orme Collection and C. O. Blagden's catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection. The "minor collections and miscellaneous documents", which constitute the remainder of the India Office Library's European manuscripts, had been in great part described by him when his sudden death (1st July, 1929) left the work incomplete, though within sight of completion. When Kaye's catalogue is published students of British-Indian history will find that they owe no small gratitude to the untiring industry and power of arrangement which enabled him to deal effectively with (for instance) the Moorcroft papers

Kaye's last published work was a return to his earliest interest. *The Bakhshālī Manuscript, A study in Mediaeval Mathematics* (Parts 1 and 2) was published in 1927 as vol. xliii of the Archæological Survey of India's New Imperial Series. (There are references in it to a Part 3 which make it apparent that a further volume was at least planned.) The published volume contains an account of the manuscript and of the contents of the work, a transliteration, and facsimiles in xlvi plates. Kaye must have felt when he received the first copies that his memory was perpetuated in a splendid monument.

Henry Beveridge

DIED 8TH NOVEMBER, 1929

It seems a curious chance that the father of Henry Beveridge, of the Indian Civil Service, should have written a history of British India, and one wonders whether this had any influence on the young Henry Beveridge, born on 9th February, 1837, in his choice of a career. At any rate, after he had completed his education at Glasgow University and Queen's College, Belfast, he had intended to obtain a nomination to the Indian Civil Service, but it happened that at this juncture the system of nomination by the East India Company was withdrawn and appointments to the Indian Civil Service were henceforward thrown open to public competition In the third of these examinations, which was held in 1857, Henry Beveridge headed the list and on reaching Calcutta, via the Cape, he was posted to Bengal, where he served in various districts down to 1893.

Henry Beveridge had inherited from both his father and his mother a taste for literature and a gift for writing, but I do not find any trace of his appearing as a man of letters until 1876, when he published *The District of Bakarganj (in Eastern Bengal): Its History and Statistics*. From 1884 onwards he was constantly engaged in the intervals of his public duties in writing historical articles which were published in the *Calcutta Review* or in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Among these contributions may be specially mentioned his account of the trial of the Maharaja Nanda Kumar, which he described as a judicial murder, thus controverting Sir James Stevens, who had upheld the action of Impey and Warren Hastings. These articles were afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form in Calcutta in 1886. His earliest contribution to the subject which afterwards engrossed all his attention, namely the India of the Delhi Moghuls, was an article published in the *JASB*. in 1887 on the "Mother of Jahángír". He also contributed a number of articles

to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, including an interesting discussion on whether the Koh-i-Nur was the diamond which the Emperor Bābur received from his son Humāyūn after the battle of Panipat and then returned to his son as a present. The latest article I have traced is one on 'Azīz Koka contributed to this *Journal* in 1921. But it is by his translations, from the Persian, of three important historical works that Beveridge will be best remembered, and of these far the most important is his literal rendering of the *Akbarnāma* of Abu-l-Faẓl, the monumental and all too flowery history of the great Emperor Akbar, written by his famous minister. It required almost as much of patience as of scholarship to turn this masterpiece of Persian rhetoric into readable English, but Henry Beveridge never shirked his task and every hyperbole of Abu-l-Faẓl's finds its counterpart in the English translation. I cannot refrain from quoting one example from the introduction. " He rends the garments of contumacy which wraps the faces of debts, but draws the mantle of forgiveness over the heads of transgressions ; the splendour of power streams from the brow of his benevolence ; the lightning of benignity draws lambent lights from the fires of his wrath. His fury melts adamantine boldness ; his dread turns to water the courage of the iron-souled ; the shrinking of the age is the impress of the wrinkling of his brows ; its expansion the reflex of his nature's blossoming " This great work, by which he laid under a permanent obligation all students of Indian history, occupied upwards of fourteen years.

After his retirement in 1893 Henry Beveridge settled in Haslemere, where he and his devoted wife and companion, Annette Susanna Beveridge, gave themselves up to the study of Moghul history and both were spared to carry on their work in England for thirty-five years.

Although the researches of Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge lay within the same period of Indian history (and of course their interests and study were almost identical) the works which Mrs. Beveridge published were totally independent of those

of her husband and it fell to her lot to do for the Emperor Babur, whose memoirs she translated from the Turki into English, what her husband had done for Babur's grandson.

In 1899 Henry Beveridge re-visited India in search of historical manuscripts which might throw light on the Moghul period, but this expedition does not seem to have led to any important discovery.

Most of those who have been engaged in the study of Indian history have become familiar with the characteristic handwritings of these two scholars who never spared themselves any pains to assist others in the elucidation of difficult problems; and their letters were always characterized by a great enthusiasm for their subject Nor did this enthusiasm wane with old age, and as long as Mr. and Mrs. Henry Beveridge were well enough to receive visitors in the home they had latterly shared with their son, Sir William Beveridge, on Campden Hill, they were prepared to discuss, in spite of speaking trumpets and slips of paper, as eagerly as ever those topics to which they had devoted their long and useful lives.

E. DENISON ROSS.

A. S BEVERIDGE

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2. *The History of Humâyûn (Humâyûn-nâma)* By Gul-Badan Begam (Princess Rose-Body). Translated, with introduction, notes . . . and biographical appendix . . . by Annette S Beveridge. (Oriental Translation Fund.) London, 1902.
3. *The Bábar-náma*, being the autobiography of the Emperor Bábar . . now reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript . . . and edited with a preface, and indexes by Annette S. Beveridge. (E. J. W Gibb Memorial, vol i) Leyden and London, 1905.
4 *The Key of the Hearts of Beginners* A set of tales written . . . in Persian by Bibi Brooke, and translated . . by Annette S Beveridge. London, 1908.
5 *The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Bābur)* . . . Translated from the original Turki text by Annette Susannah Beveridge. London, 1921.

(a) "Muhammad Husain Khan (Tukriyah)." A sketch of one of Akbar's heroes. *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcviii, 1894, pp. 1–29.

(b) "Life and writings of Gulbadan Begam (Lady Rosebody)." *Calcutta Review*, vol. cvi, 1898, pp 345–71.
(c) "Leigh Hunt's 'Abu ben Adhem'" *Calcutta Review*, vol cvii, 1898, pp. 214–25.
(d) "Notes on the MSS. of the Turki text of Bābar's Memoirs" *JRAS*, 1900, etc.
(e) "The Haydarabad codex of the Bābar-nāma . ." *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 741–62, 1906, pp 79–93
(f) "The Bābar-Nāma The material now available for a definite text of the book," *JRAS*, 1908, pp 73–98
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H BEVERIDGE

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2. *The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar · A Narrative of a Judicial Murder.* [Mainly a reprint of two articles in the *Calcutta Review*] Calcutta, 1886
3. *Annual Address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Calcutta, 1891
4. *The Akbarnāma of Abu-l-Fazl* Translated from the Persian by H. Beveridge (Bibliotheca Indica) Calcutta, 1897–1910
5. *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, or Memoirs of Jahāngīr . . .* Translated by A Rogers . Edited by H. Beveridge (Oriental Translation Fund) Calcutta, 1909, 1914
6. *The Maāṣiru-l-umarā* . by Nawāb Samsāmu-d-daula Shah Nawāz Khān and his son 'Abdul Haqq Translated by H Beveridge (Bibliotheca Indica) Vol i, fascicules 1–6 Calcutta, 1911

(a) "The Patna Massacre" *Calcutta Review*, vol lxxix, 1884, pp 338–78
(b) "The Mother of Jahángír," *JASB*, lvi, 1887, pt i, No iii, p 164
(c) "The Administration of Justice in Bengal," *Calcutta Review*, vol lxxxvii, 1888, pp 322–44; vol. xc, 1890, pp. 253–70
(d) "On the Study of Indian History," *Calcutta Review*, vol lxxxvii, 1888, pp. 37–44.
(e) "Father Jerome Xavier," *JASB*, New Series, lvii, i, 1888, pp 33–9
(f) "Wreck of the 'Ter Schelling' (A D 1661)," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xci, 1890, No 181, pp 1–13.
(g) "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcii, 1891, pp 147–63
(h) "Old Places in Murshidabad," *Calcutta Review*, April, 1892, pp 322–45; October, 1892, pp 195–218
(i) "The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa," *JASB.*, No lxii, i, 1893, pp 315–28.
(j) "The Buchanan Records," *Calcutta Review*, vol. xcix, 1894, pp. 1–17
(k) "The Khūrshīd Jahān Numā of Sayyad Ilāhī Bakhsh al Ḥusainī Angrēzābādī," *JASB.*, No. lxiv, i, 1895, pp 194–236
(l) "Anquetil du Perron," *Calcutta Review*, vol ciii, 1896, pp 284–305.
(m) "Babar Padshah Ghazi," *Calcutta Review*, vol. cv, 1897, pp 1–32.

(n) "Humayun in Persia," *Calcutta Review*, vol. cvi, 1898, pp. 175–89.
(o) "Bābar's Diamond: Was It the Koh-i-Nur?" *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vii, 1899, pp. 370–89.
(p) "The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Bīyāt," *JASB.*, lxvii, i, 1898, pp. 296–316.
(q) "An Afghan Legend," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xi, 1901, pp 322–30.
(r) "The Emperor Babar in the Habibu-s-siyar," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xxi, 1906, pp. 79–93
(s) "Akbar," *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by J. Hastings. Vol i, pp 269–74.
(t) "Sultan Khusrau," *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 597–609
(u) "An Indian Album," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xxvi, 1908, pp. 327–34.
(v) "The Magazine of Mysteries (Makhzanu-l-Asrār)," by Nizāmī of Ganja, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 953–62.
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(x) "'Azīz Koka," *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 205–8.

H. Beveridge, Advocate

A Comprehensive History of India . . . from the first landing of the English to suppression by the Sepoy revolt. Glasgow [1858]–62.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October–December, 1929)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

24th October, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society .—

Sirdar K. S. Noshirvan K. Dastur.	Mr. M. Ramachandram.
Rai Sahib Lala Nand Lal.	Mr. F B. Rosenthal
Dr. G. Nakahara.	Mr. Mata Prasad Saksena

Forty-two nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr K. A. C. Creswell gave a lecture on " The Aqṣā Mosque and the Church of Justinian ".

The lecturer explained the title of his paper by saying that he proposed to discuss the question whether it was possible that the Aqṣā mosque can in any way be part of the church, dedicated to the Virgin, which Justinian built at Jerusalem

The Crusaders regarded the Aqsā mosque as the Templum Salomonis, and the idea that it may have been a church does not appear to be older than the end of the fifteenth century, e.g. Felix Fabri and Philip d'Aversa The theory that it represents the church of Justinian first took form at the beginning of the nineteenth century, e.g Richardson (1822), Hogg, Edward Robinson, Williams, Barclay, Blackburn, Fergusson, etc.

The lecturer divided his demonstration into two parts: (1) an attempt to show that the Temple Area remained derelict from the time of Titus until the arrival of the Arabs in 638, and (2) an attempt to show on historical and topographical grounds that the church of Justinian was built on another site.

Historians, such as Malalas (John of Antioch), the *Paschal Chronicle*, and Epiphanius, who occupy themselves with the works of Justinian, do not say anything about a restoration

of the Temple Area, and the latter expressly says that Hadrian "was minded to restore the city but not the Temple". The *only author* who says that he *touched* the Temple Area is Dion Cassius; we do not possess his actual text, however, but only an abbreviation made by Xiphilin in the eleventh century, an abbreviation which has already been characterized as full of improbabilities by Duruy.

Moreover, we have a series of witnesses all of whom describe the Temple Area as derelict, e.g. the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333, the Persian Barṣauma in 438, Eucherius in 440, and the anonymous pilgrim, usually known as Antoninus of Placentia, in 560–70

The reason why the Temple Area was left derelict is given by Eutychius (939) as follows: ". . . because our Lord had said in the Holy Gospel 'Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate', and again, 'There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be cast down.' On this account the Christians had left it lying waste, and had not erected any church upon it"

Now be it specially noted: Eutychius, who so expressly states that the Temple Area was not built on by the Christians, speaks of the church of Justinian, which must therefore have been built elsewhere. Where? Two contemporary authors, Procopius and Cyril of Scythopolis, tell us They say that it was on the highest hill in Jerusalem, and that it was necessary to build out powerful substructures towards the east for the apse. Now the highest hill in Jerusalem is not the Temple Area (the summit of Mount Moriah), but the hill of Zion, i.e. the high ground now occupied by the Jewish quarter, which overlooks the Tyropæon valley Cyril also says that the church was "in the middle of the Holy City", an expression which could be applied to the hill of Zion, but certainly not to the Temple Area, which is on the edge of the city.

Finally the church of Justinian is mentioned in a guide book for pilgrims, known as the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei*, which was written early in the ninth century, and it even gives

its dimensions. It was therefore in existence at the same time as the Aqṣā mosque, so they must have been two different buildings, and as the Temple Area was at this time in Muslim occupation, the church cannot have been visited by pilgrims unless it stood elsewhere.

We now come to the question of the first mosque in the Temple Area. It seems certain that 'Umar erected some primitive structure here, although the exact year is doubtful; the Arabic authors give us no information except an obviously legendary account taken from Eutychius. For the date we are dependent on three Christian authors, Theophanes, Elias bar Shinaya of Nisibis, and Michael the Syrian, who give 643, 638, and 640 respectively The structure must have been exceedingly primitive, for Arculf (670) describes it as follows: "But in that renowned place where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed, placed in the neighbourhood of the wall from the east, the Saracens now frequent a quadrangular house of prayer, which they have built rudely, constructing it by raising boards and great beams on some remains of ruins; this house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once." The ruins in question were doubtless those of the Stoa of Herod.

As for the present Aqṣā mosque, the lecturer stated that, as a result of repeated examinations of the structure and of the details brought to light during the extensive works carried out under the direction of the late Turkish architect, Kemāl-ad Dīn, he was convinced that the oldest part dated from the Fāṭimid Khalif Ẓāhir in 1034.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

24th October, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland in the Chair

The object of the meeting was to substitute in Rule 65, which refers to the day on which general meetings are held,

the words "*second Thursday in the month*" *for the words* "*second* Tuesday in the month".

The change, proposed by Professor Margoliouth and seconded by Sir J. Stewart *Lockhart, was carried.*

Friday, 8th November, 1929

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society held at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Edward Maclagan in the Chair, Sir Aurel Stein gave a lecture on "Alexander's Campaigns on the North-west Frontier of India"

In the introductory remarks Sir Aurel described the long-continued efforts he had made almost since his first arrival in India to visit that portion of the Swāt Valley of which detailed descriptions have been handed down by the early Chinese pilgrims, and which has furnished to collectors so many fine specimens of Græco-Buddhist sculpture plundered from ruined Buddhist shrines

He referred to the special attraction which this region to the north of the Peshawar district offered as the probable scene of Alexander's campaign preceding the crossing of the Indus and the invasion of the Punjab in 327 B C Reference was made to the fact that the Upper Swāt Valley had remained inaccessible to individual European investigation even after the Chitrāl campaign of 1895 had led to a strategic route being kept open through a portion of Lower Swāt.

Since 1923 Miangul Abdul Wahāb Gulshāhzāda, a grandson of the famous Ākhund of Swāt, had established full power over Upper Swāt, Bunēr, and parts of the Indus Kohistān. Thus a chance was offered to Sir Aurel Stein for his long-hoped explorations. In the autumn of 1925 his friend, Colonel E. H. S. James, then Political Agent for Dir, Swāt, and Chitral, obtained the ruler's permission for Sir Aurel Stein's planned expedition. This was approved by Sir Norman Boulton, Chief Commissioner, North-west Frontier Province, and the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

The Indian Archæological Department, under which Sir Aurel Stein was then on special duty, generously provided the necessary grant. The Survey of India assisted by lending the services of a trained surveyor in the person of Torabaz Khan, an Afridi.

Starting from the Malakand at the beginning of March, 1926, Sir Aurel Stein was able to survey a large number of ruined Buddhist sites, including a number of remarkably well-preserved large Stūpas, both along the Swāt River and in the fertile side valleys opening towards it. At the ruined hill fastness of Bīrkōṭ he identified the stronghold of Baziri (or Beira) prominently mentioned in Arrian's account of Alexander's operations against the Assakēnoi. He subsequently traced a large and ancient mountain fortress above the village of Uḍegrām higher up the main Swāt Valley. At this stronghold, known to the local Pat-ans as "King Gira's Castle", there may be located with very great probability the fortified town of Ōra which Alexander captured before the fall of Bazira.

On his further progress up the Swāt Valley Sir Aurel Stein was able to identify a number of those sacred spots, connected with local legends concerning the Buddha, which Chinese pilgrims visited and described.

Ascending the Swāt Valley up to the northernmost border of the Swāt ruler's territory, he was able to acquaint himself with a previously unexplored and interesting mountain region, and with the remnant of the ancient Dard population which had found refuge there from the Pat-an invasion. Specimens of the Tōrwālī speech were recorded, as well as anthropometrical data.

Subsequently he crossed the watershed towards the Indus and was able by a detailed survey of the mountain spur flanking the Ghōrband Valley, to trace the position of Aornos, that famous mountain fastness which prominently figures in the Greek accounts of Alexander's campaign. Converging evidence, topographical, archæological, and philological,

showed that Aornos must be identified with the high flat-topped ridge known as Pīr-sar, which juts out from the mountain massif of Ūṇra and is washed at its foot, about 5,000 feet lower, by the Indus.

In the course of his lecture, illustrated by very numerous lantern slides, Sir Aurel Stein was able to show how closely all natural features of Mount Ūṇra and Pīr-sar correspond to the details recorded by Arrian In the name of Ūṇra it is safe to recognize the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient local name which the Greeks endeavoured to render by *Aornos*

Sir Aurel Stein completed his explorations by the close of May with a survey of an as yet unexplored portion of Bunēr, and by a visit to Mount Ilam. On the top of this peak a famous Buddhist site specially described by Hsüan-tsang could be definitely identified.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Chairman spoke, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer

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12th December, 1929

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Kasim Ali.
Mr. M. R. Ry. Balasubramanya Aiyar Avargal
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.
Mr. W. S. Barlingay.
Mr. L. Bishen Das Batra.
Munshi Md. Ansaruddin Saheb Bekhud.
Babu Hirendra Kumar Bose.
Mr. F. Chand Bugga.
Mr. Hakim Chand.
Miss Susan Clarke.
Mr. Jahangir M. Desai.
Dr. Lal Bhai D. Dholakeya.
Mr. D. D Dickson.
Mr. R Ganguli.
Lt.-Col Hallilay, I.M.S
Mr. M. Abdul Hamid.
Pandit Viyogi Hari.
Mr. Abu Masr Md Ali Hasan.
Syed Sabir Hosain.
Mr. Durgagati Bhattacharyya Kavyaratna.
Pandit Anand Lal Koul.
Mr. Lala Chhaganlal K. Mathur.
Rev. Father Mattan.
Mr. A. T. Mukherjee.
Dr. F. W. O'Connell.
Dr. H. Jagannath Pershad.

Mr. Edward Paul.
Mr. H. C. V. Philpot, I.C S.
Mr. Lalita Prasad Rathore.
Mr. Sahitya Ratna V Nath Saraswat.
Mr. Tribhowandas L. Shah.
Mr. H. W. Sheppard.
Mr. S. M Shihabuddin
Mr. Braj Bhushan Singh
Mr. Kunwar Prem Pratap Singh.
Mr. O. J. Sundaram.
Mr. Ramkumar Varma.
Mr. C. Venkatesam.
Dr M. L. Verma.
Dr. Yahuda.
Mr. M. Aziz Bakhash Zia.

Twenty-three nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting

Professor Langdon gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides. on "Results of the Excavations at Kish, Season 1928–9. by the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition".

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

The paper will appear in the April *Journal.*

16th December

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair

The following were elected members of the Society —

Mr. Abdul-Wajid Khwaja
Shaykh Abul' Ala Affifi.
Mr. Wali Ahmad.
Mr. S Sivarama Krishna Aiyar
Mr. Azim-uddin.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji.
Mr. Mark Dineley.
Mr. Ranchodlal G. Gyani.
Herr O. Harrassowitz.
Mr. J. Hoare.
Mr. P. C. Mehra.
Dr. R. S. Menawat.
Mr. Chand Narain.
Mr. Kandaswamy Palaniappan.
Mr. M Rama Rao
Mr Vijayanagar L. Narayana Rao
Mr. T. R Gopalakrishna Sarma.
Mr. Amar Sen.
Professor Thakur Rama O Singh.
Mrs. de Beauvoir Stocks.
Colonel J. Stephenson.
Mr. Damodar Prasad Srivastava.
Rev. G. Houghton Thorne.

The President announced that Professor Bernhard Karlgren, of Göteborg, Sweden, the distinguished Chinese Scholar, had

been elected an Honorary Member to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Sir Ernest Satow.

Mr. J. P. Mills, I.C.S., gave a lecture on "The Chittagong Hill Tracts", illustrated by lantern slides.

Colonel Gurdon and Mr. Grant Brown spoke and the President offered the lecturer the cordial thanks of the meeting

The following is an abstract of the paper:—

My opportunity of visiting and travelling in the Chittagong Hill Tracts arose from my deputation to the Government of Bengal to inquire into certain matters connected with the three circle chiefs of that area, the Chakma Chief, the Bohmong, and the Mong Raja In this paper an attempt is made to describe the primitive inhabitants of the district and the more civilized Maghs and Chakmas who migrated into it from the coastal plain, and to indicate how the present peculiar form of chieftainship originated

The Chittagong Hill Tracts comprise the hinterland of the fertile Chittagong coastal plain Invaders have come both from south and north, and the Bengalis living along the western boundary have profoundly influenced the culture of the Chakmas and other valley tribes. The Moguls and English, who have held the coastal plain and drawn tribute and taxes from the hills, have greatly modified the politics of the hinterland.

Though the main rivers give easy access to the valleys, the trackless jungles of the hills have kept the true mountaineers wonderfully free from alien influences Of the hillmen the most interesting and most primitive are the Mros Their dress is scanty and their customs interesting and closely connected with those of the hill tribes of Assam. Their faces show little trace of Mongolian admixture, and their language is ancient and unique. Undoubtedly they are a very old stock, and probably no tribe in India or Burma would better repay detailed study. Other primitive folk are those of the Old Kuki group, who have apparently been

driven down by pressure from the North. Examples are the Khyengs, Tipperas, Pankhos, and Bonjugis.

The contrast between these tribes and the Maghs is a sharp one. The Maghs are Burmese from Arakan, and their gay silks, yellow-robed priests, and little Buddhist temples make this bit of Bengal into a corner of Burma Their villages are invariably on the banks of rivers, and noticeable in some of them are the tiny, low huts built for shelter during hurricanes By race the Maghs are Tai, who probably covered Central and Southern China about 2000 B C, and certainly had a kingdom in Yunnan from the seventh century A D. till it was destroyed by the Moguls in 1234. Later the kingdom of Pegu was founded. This was destroyed by the kings of Burma and Arakan about 1600. From the last king of Pegu is descended the Bohmong, the head of the Ragretsa clan, and leading representative of the Maghs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

Like the Maghs the Chakmas invariably build their villages on the banks of rivers. They come up from the coast to their present home on the middle reaches of the Karnaphuli and its tributaries, and are probably by origin the descendants of Mogul soldiers and Magh women. In culture they have been strongly influenced by Bengalis, and their present language is a dialect of Bengali. But some of them spoke Maghi within living memory, and a few old men still know the ancient script, which is said to be of Khmer origin. The present Chakma Chief regards himself as forty-fifth of his line, but this claim is more than doubtful, and the history of his family illustrates the curious way in which the paramount power on the coast has unwittingly but undoubtedly caused the growth of the present type of chieftainship. Its instability in the past has been remarkable and instructive. The first known chief is "Bengali Sirdar", clearly a foreigner He is followed by men with Mahommedan names, down to Dharam Bux, who died in 1832, and left among his widows Kalindi Rani, the most noticeable figure in Chakma history. There

can be little doubt that the predecessors of the Chakma and other circle chiefs gained paramount power as collectors of taxes on behalf, first of the Moguls, and later of the British of the coast. This is why to this day out of every rupee collected the Chief receives half, the Mauza headman a quarter, and the Government only the remaining quarter. I am not speaking of the usefulness of these circle chiefs. I am merely saying that the roots of the system are not imbedded in *indigenous* custom Failure to see this has led to misunderstanding in the past

Kalindi Rani used British ignorance of custom for her own ends. On her husband's death she seized the power, and, though he had in all probability been a Mahommedan, she obtained control of the family estates as a Hindu widow. Later she turned Buddhist and forced the whole tribe to do so, but later, contrary to Buddhist custom, she suddenly went into purdah in order to avoid a painful interview with Lewin, the famous political officer Altogether a very remarkable woman! Having obtained the estates, she had her rivals imprisoned and then set to work to fight the Dewans, the heads of clans, who represented the old Indonesian clan system as opposed to this alien tribal chieftainship Their influence she swamped by creating many new Dewans, so turning an office into a class Failure to understand the vital position of the clans and their headmen in this Indonesian area and the fact that their authority is over persons and not over territory has led to much confusion in the past. The fact that the territorial basis of authority is the only possible one from an administrative point of view does not make the transition any easier The authority of the Chiefs has only recently been definitely confined to circles, and clan authority over scattered and intermingled communities has only recently been superseded by a system of *Mauzas* with fixed boundaries, each with its headman. Developments are still taking place, and it is good to know that they are being carefully and sympathetically watched.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

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Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. IV: The Khotan Region

BY F. W. THOMAS

(Continued from p. 94 supra)

IV. PLACES WITH NAMES ENDING IN "-RTSE"

THE word *rtse*, "peak" or "top", is a very appropriate termination for the names of places in a mountainous region; in Tibet there are innumerable place-names of this type. In the Nob region of Chinese Turkestan we have noticed (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 586–8) several such names, e.g. *Klu-rtse*, *Snaṅ-rtse*, *Gyuṅ-druṅ-rtse*. In the case of the last named we have suggested the possibility that *-rtse* may have denoted nothing more than a height in a fort. There may have been instances of such a nature; but in general the position will have been otherwise. The numerous names in *-rtse* will have been due to the occupation of commanding positions by the Tibetan troops for the purpose of observation and control. In the case of Pe͟hu-rtse we shall quote documents which in fact refer to building operations. The actual designations of some of the places, e.g. *Stag-sras-dges-gyi-rtse* "Young-tiger-delight(? ?)-peak", *H̱phrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse* "Magic-mirror-all-vision-peak", while characteristically Tibetan, may also be set down partly to the fancy of those who established the new military posts. The names are naturally all Tibetan, and will not often have been attached to old sites.

Note may be taken of the manner in which the places are mentioned. We have called attention above to various lists of persons residing in certain *tshars*, or "parishes", or in places whose names frequently end in *-rtse*. It will be observed

that the two kinds of reference do not intermingle, a fact which clearly indicates that the former lists refer to "parishes" in the Khotan district itself, while the latter have in view the military posts outside. Most, however, of the documents are mere wooden labels, showing either simply the name of the place, or the same with references to supplies (*brgyags*), or barley (*nas*) or wheat (*gro*), or soldiers (*so*), and so forth—often with line-marks or notches plainly meant to denote numbers or amounts. They are, therefore, labels for articles kept or dispatched for the use of the places mentioned, or of persons belonging, or travelling, to the same. Usually, where there are notches, the wood is cut away for the purpose of a tally, and the hole for the string, which otherwise is at the right, is at the broader end to the left. An example (M. Tāgh. 0564) is figured on plate cxxx of *Innermost Asia*.

(*a*) *'An-tse.*

Mentioned *supra*, p. 93.

No doubt a place in the Khotan region and quite different from An-hsi (Kva-cu) in distant Kan-su.

(*b*) *Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse.*

Mention of this place has occurred in No. 4, p. 55 *supra*.

50. M. Tāgh. 0527 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; wood partly cut away; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; c. 12 lines or notches for numbers).

༄ | | Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse

(Quite similar are the likewise complete documents *a*, ii, 0073; *a*, iv, 006 (notches, etc.); c, ii, 0051 (notches, etc.).)

51. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0088 (wood; c. 11·5 × 1 cm.; complete, palimpsest; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, hole for string at right).

[A] ༄ | | Bye . ma . ḫdor . gyi . rtse | lo . naṅ . Mon .
[B] baku . bar . toṅ . śig .

"Bye-ma-ḫdor-gyi-rtse. Send the *lo-naṅ* Mon secretly (*bsku-bar* ?)."

Note

A. *lo-naṅ*: See *supra*, p. 55 (*lo-nan*).

(*c*) *Bye-ri-snaṅ-dan-rtse.*

Mentioned in M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*).

(*d*) *Can-laṅ-rtse.*

See above, p. 87 (M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 007), and add—

52. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0066 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 6 notches or lines).

❧ | : | Caṅ . laṅ . tshe |

Possibly the *Jan-lan-rtse* mentioned *supra* (p. 93, M. Tāgh. 0050) is only a variant of this name.

(*e*) *Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse.*

53. M. Tāgh. *a*, vi, 006 (wood; c. 7 × 2 cm.; complete; hole at right for string; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ❧ | | mnaḫ . ris . na . [A 2] Dbyild . cuṅ . tseḫi [B] brgyags.

"Supplies for Dbyild-cuṅ-tse on the frontier (*or* in the frontier country)."

54. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 001 (wood; c. 8 × 3 cm.; imperfect at left and right; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [g]sol . na : su . la . gsol . . . [A 2] . . . ṅand . maṃchis . te | | rad . pa . dbyir . n . . . [A 3] . . . Dbyild . cuṅ . rtse . khrom . du . | su . . . [B 1] . . . | ḫtshal . ba . las | | [ch]ad . . . [B 2] . . . | so . glas . stsold . cig . . . . [B 3] . . . po . chir . mdzad | |

. . . "Travelling party . . . to Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse mart. . . ."

It seems therefore that Dbyild-cuṅ-rtse was a market town on the frontier (perhaps only of two provinces or administrations).

(*f*) *H̱phrul-gyi-rtse* ("Magic Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*), and cf. the following (*g*) and Mye-loṅ-rtse (*infra*).

(*g*) *H̱phrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse* ("Magic-mirror-all-appearing-peak").

55. M. Tāgh. i, 0020 (wooden tally; c. 9·5 × 2 cm.; complete (?); hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | . | H̱prul . gi . mye . loṅ . | [A 2] kun . snaṅ . rtse | [B 1] Glu . gaṅ . gis . phye . khal [B 2] gcig . daṅ . bre . bži . nos | phyin . bre . phyed.

"H̱phrul-gyi-me-lon-kun-snan-rtse: received by Glu-gaṅ flour, one load (*khal* = *vāha*), four *bre*: later half a *bre*."

56. M. Tāgh. *c*, i, 0011 (wood; c. 15·5 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ : | H̱prul . gyı . mye . loṅ . du . mchi . ba . ẖdi . riṅs[A 2]s . par . thoṅ . śig . | riṅs . ri . skyel . ẖdi . rnaṃs . sṅa [B 1] byi | ma . non . par . thon . śig | sna . rnam . ma . rȷogs . sla . [B 2] gdod . gžan . thoṅ . śig . |

"Going to H̱phrul-gyi-me-loṅ: send it on quickly. These rapid mountain couriers are to be sent on early or late (*sṅa-phyi*) without hindrance (*ma-non-par*? or *non-par* 'with effort'?). Before (If?) the first lot have finished (do not suffice?), straightway send others."

Mentioned also in M.T. *a*, iv, 0026.

Notes

A 2. *ri-skyel*: "Mountain convoy" (see p. 83 *supra*).

B 1. *ma-rjogs-sla*: = *ma-rdzogs-la*?

sna-rnam: For this use of *rnam* see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 832, l. 4 from bottom; p. 833, l. 17.

(*h*) *Jaṅ-laṅ-rtse.*

See above, under *Caṅ-laṅ-rtse.*

(*i*) *Mdoṅ-rtse.*

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*).

(*j*) *Mṅaḫ-ris-byin-gyi-rtse* ("Two-frontier Peak").

See No. 0564, published in Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, p. 1085.

57. M. Tāgh. 0016 (wooden tally; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; nine notches or lines *recto*, one *verso*).

[A] ༄ | | Mṅaḫ . ris . byin . gyi . tse | [B] nas . bre . bži . rtsis . nod

"Mṅaḫ-ris-byin-gyi-rtse: four *bre* of barley counted, received."

(*k*) *Mṅaḫ-ris-rtse* ("Frontier Peak").

See M.T. 0050 (p. 93 *supra*, [*mṅah-ri*]*s*).

(*l*) *Mon-rtse* ("Mon Peak").

58. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0058 (wood; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; irregular at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] Mon . rtse . gyi . brgyags | [2] so

"For Mon-rtse, supplies."

(*m*) *Me-loṅ-rtse* ("Mirror Peak").

Possibly the same as Ḫphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse (*g*, *supra*).

59. M. Tāgh. c, i, 0015 (wood; c. 10·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left broken away; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Mye . loṅ . tse . gyi . brgyags [2] [sbaḫ]

"For Me-loṅ-rtse, supplies: secret (*or* remainder, *ḫbaḫ*, *or* some ?)."

(*n*) *Peḫu-rtse* ("Peḫu Peak", cf. *Peḫu-mar* "Lower Peḫu").

60. M. Tāgh. 0615 (wood; c. 23·5 × 2 cm.; nearly

complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . [s]o . slar . bskyed . par . chad . nas . ḫdi . nas . s[l]ond. brdzaṅs . pa [1] . yaṅ . lags . gyis . || [2] . . sṅa (lna ?) . na . ḫbaḫ . Tsheḫu . chag . gi . so . pa . ni . Bsam. cha[*r*] . ḫpos . śig || Peḫu . rtse . sar . paḫi . . .

"It having been settled to dispatch back the soldiers . . . have been sent back from here In five (*or* First) . . . . some soldiers of Tsheḫu-cag should be transferred to Bsam-cha. Of new Peḫu-rtse . . ."

Notes

On Tsheḫu-cag and Bsam-cha see pp. 266, 279, 282 *infra.*

l. 2, *ḫpos*: Doubtless for *spos*, from *spo-ba*, which has occurred *supra* (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 558, l. 4).

61. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 0015 (paper, fol. no. 27 of vol., fragmentary at right, c. 15 × 25 cm.; ll. 21 *recto* + ll. 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | . | žaṅ . žaṅ . blon . Khri . bžer . daṅ | | naṅ . rje . po . Lha . bz*an* . . . [2] mtshuns . pa | Žugs . nam . gyi . ltoṅs | soḫi . mth . . [3] bžugs . na | thugs . bde . ḫam . myi . bde . | sñun . gsol . . [4] chi . gnaṅ | Ḫu . ten phyogs . na . bkaḫ . mchid . chig . daḫ . . . [5] pa . dag . bžugs . pa . la | bdag . nan . pas . rṅo . thog . pa . . . [6] ḫdi . skad . sñan . sñuns . pa . gsol . žes . | bkaḫ . ḫ . . . [7] nan . rje . po . Lha . bzan . daṅ | phur . myi . srid . gchig . ste || glo . . . [8] do . gchig . dbyard . Pe . ḫu . rtse . rtsig . du . mchis . tshun . chad . | . . . [9] ḫtsald . de | rab . tu . myi . bde . ste | bro . g-yog . daṅ . phu . ldir . bgyid . . . [10] gi . bran . rkya . rgu[2] . gu . rib . Traṅ . slebs | so . res . ḫdi . la . mchi . ba . . . [11] bar . g-yra [3] . te . ma . btaṅ . baḫi . skyin . ba | sde . myi . Ña . gram . Ḫphan . brod | . . . [12] mchis . pa .˙ |

[1] Or ? *pra* (compendious for *par*) ?
[2] Crossed out.
[3] Compendious for *g-yar*.

Tran : slebs . kyi . skyin . bar [1] . ri . zug . du . mchi . . . [13] ẖdi . bžin . du . spyan . ris . btsa . žiṅ | so . chad . . . [14] mdzad || bdag . ṅan . pa . bro . cuṅ . zad . tha . gi . | so . sla . . . [15] ẖdrend . daṅ . sku . ṅas . myi . ẖtsal . bar | dusu . phyin . . . [16] ba . daṅ . phur . myiẖi . srid . du . be [2] . mdzad . chiṅ . spyan . . . [17] ma . stoṅs . paẖi . mtshan . ma | spyan . zigs . . . [18] mchis . na . rma . žiṅ . bžes . par . chi . gnan | . . . [19] gñis . thugs . bde . sku . tshe . rin . bar . smon . . . [20] so . ñul . Klu . mthoṅ . mchi . ba . la . ẖaṅ . žib . tu . . . [21] chi . legsu . mdzad . par . smon . chin . mchis . . .

Verso: [1] ༄ | . | žaṅ . žaṅ . Khri . bžre [3] . daṅ | naṅ. rje . po . Lha [2] bzaṅ . la | | Du . dun . skyes . kyi . m-i . . .

[1–4] "That the great Uncle-Councillor Khri-bžer and the Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ, equal to theophanies, while residing at military headquarters on the top of the Žugs-nam, should have *written* inquiries after my health, whether I am happy or not, what a favour! [4–6] As regards any talk *at present* going on in the Ḫu-ten quarter, your humble servant, unable . . . begs merely herein to inquire after your health: so . . . commands. [7–9] The Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ and the leading persons are united and intimate (*glo-ba-*[*ñe*] ? or *glo-ba-rins* 'far-seeing' ?). At present since in the summer I went to build Peẖu-rtse, ... sent. [9–12] I am very ill at ease. My house-*servant*, the *gu-rib* Tran-slebs, who renders *me* sick-service and blows the fire (*phu-ldir* ?), being lent to . . . , a soldier-relay coming here, was not sent, and his debtor (substitute ?), a regimental man, Ḫphan-brod of Ña-gram, . . . went. [12–15] Tran-slebs' debtor (substitute), being taken with mountain-sickness . . . thus spying, caused the soldier . . . to be punished. I, being a little convalescent, fetched the soldier back. . . . [15–18]

[1] *r* crossed out.
[2] Crossed out.
[3] Compendious for *bžer*.

Though I did not personally send . . . arrive in time and in token of not having . . . the proceedings of the leading persons . . . a present . . . comes: inquire and favour me by acceptance. . . . [19–21] pray that . . . *both may be* happy and live long. . . . *Also,* when the soldier-spy Klu-mthoṅ comes, I pray *you* to . . . particularly and do what is good."

[B 1] "To great Uncle Khri-bžer and Home Minister Lha-bzaṅ: letter of Du-dun-skyes."

Notes

l. 1. *Zugs-ṅam-gyi-ltons*: See p. 86 *supra*.

l. 7. *phur-myi*: The phrase, which occurred *supra*, p. 55, is found also *infra*, p. 258, and in *a*, ii, 0089 and *c*, iii, 0043 (*phur-myi-stag-rnams-la*).

l. 9. *phu-ldir*: Both *phu* and *ldir* seem to have the general sense of "blowing".

l. 10. *gu-rib*: A not infrequent phrase (M.I. 108*b*, xiv, 0019; xv, 0011; M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 004, 0059; *c*, iv, 002; Ch. fr. 61), denoting perhaps some occupation (a slave ?).

so-res: "Soldier-relay," as *supra*, p. 89.

l. 11. *skyin-ba*: This naturally means a "debtor". Apparently the debtor was required to act as a substitute.

l. 12. *ri-zug*: See pp. 84, 281, and M.T. 001 and *a*, iv, 0014, 0019.

l. 13. *spyan-ris(ras)-btsa*: "Watching or spying" recurs *infra*, p. 274, 278; also M.T. 0516.

l. 15. *sku-ṅas*: "By myself in person."

l. 17. *spyan-zigs*: "A present," as on p. 88 *supra*.

l. 20. *so-ñul*: "A soldier spy," as *supra*, p. 86.

62. M. Tāgh. *a*, v, 0020 (paper, fol. no. 29 in vol., fragmentary; c. 20 × 13·5 cm.; ll. 7 of ordinary *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . -i . [m]chid . gsol . baḥ | | [2] . . . g . pa . daṅ | Dur . ya . p[h]ur . myi . rgod . kyi . gle . gugs . sug . las [3] . . . mchi . ba | gži . ṅand . paḥi . steṅ . du | sug . las . ches .

pas | g-yar [1] . ga[m] . . . [4] . . . ri . mchis . na | Pehu . tse . rtsig . pahi . bsel . du . yaṅ . mchi . bar . mchid . stsald . . . [5] . . [d]ab . ham . chen . tags | rṅa . mo . gcig . g-yar . por . gsol . žiṅ . mchis . na . . . [6] . . . ž[i]ṅ . g-yar . por . thugs . rje . ji . gzigs ||

"Letter of . . . I and the chief men of Dur-ya went . . . work on wild uncultivated land. The work upon the bad land being heavy, orders were sent that, having gone up . . . . we should be engaged in safeguarding those who were building Pehu-tse . . . . . . beg for a camel on loan . . . . have the kindness to lend . . ."

Notes

Concerning *Dur-ya* see below, p. 268. It is evidently to be presumed that Pehu-rtse was in the vicinity of that place. The reference to the building of Pehu-rtse in this and the preceding document is in harmony with the mention of New Pehu-rtse in the one first quoted (M. Tāgh. 0615, p. 256).

l. 1. *rgod-kyi-gle-gugs*: *Gle* is said to mean "*a small uncultivated island*", *and gugs may mean* "*a corner*" (*angulus terrae*). Cf. p. 266 *infra*.

l. 4. *bsel*: This may mean either "guard" or "clear up". In *JRAS*. 1928, p. 566, we have had it used, apparently, of defending a citadel.

(*o*) *Seṅ-ka-tse*

By this name no place is otherwise known. But it seems not unreasonable to equate it to the Śaṅkā-giri, near to the Śaṅkā-prahāṇa *vihāra*, both of which are mentioned in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (see *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584; *Asia Major*, ii, p. 267; and *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, iii, pp. 32, 45). We can readily understand that into a native designation *Seṅ-ka* the monks may have interpreted the Sanskrit *śaṅkā*, though, of course, the Sanskrit may have actually been the *prius*. Assuming the identity,

[1] Crossed out.

we learn, however, no more than the name itself reveals, to wit, that the place lay in the mountains to the south of the Khotan region.

63. M. Tāgh. 0574 (wood; c. 12·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather square, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | . | khyar . mkhan . gyi . ḫbaṅs . myi . Lo . ci . brgyag [A 2] snod . [myin] . du . Seṅ . ka . tse . la . mchis : | dbyar . [B 1] sla . tha . chuns . kyı . brgyags . nas . bre . gsum [B 2] daṅ | | phye . bre . gsum . ma . stsald |

"The lagging slave Lo-ci has come to Seṅ-ka-tse without the basket of supplies. Supplies for the last summer month, three *bre* of barley and three *bre* of flour, have not been sent."

Note

A 1. *khyar-mkhan-gyı-ḫbans*: *khyar* is given in the dictionaries as a synonym of *khyams*.

64. M. Tāgh. 0583 (wood; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather square *dbu-can* script, part of *verso* in a different, round, hand).

[A 1] ༄ | : | brgyags : : snod · pa : Tsa : dan : lhan : dpye : dbyar : sla : tha : cuns : tshes · ñı : śu : bži · gdugs : res : [B 1] na . mchis · so (*A different hand*) | Gun . beg . Guṅ | legs | gi.

"Supply-basket-man Tsa and mate came at noon on the 24th of the last summer month. For Gun-beg Gun-legs."

Note

A 1. *lhan-dpye*: Since *dbye-ba* is synonymous with *ḫbyed*, the phrase may = *lhan-ḫbyed* "an assistant" or "auxiliary", a "mate".

65. M. Tāgh. 0517 (paper; c. 25·5 × 10 cm.; fragmentary at right (ll. 3–9) and left (ll. 3–6); ll. 9 of square, formal, *dbu-can* script).

[1] ❦ | : | jo . bo . Stag . mt[o]n . gyi . sñan . du . | | Myes . tshab . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḫ | | so . pa . dag . la . rmas . na . jo . bo . sñuṅ . sbagla[1] . žiṅ . [2] ba . de . s[*k*]ad . g-yar . du . mjald . ste . glo . [b]aḫ . rab . tu . myi . dgaḫ . žiṅ . mchis . bdag . gsun . mar . mchi . ḫo . sñam[2] . glo . ba . l . . [3] . . . glaḫ . *ni* . *ma* . sñed . bdag . *mchi* . *yaṅ* . *smad* . yon . myi . thog . ḫdaḫ . yaṅ . sñuṅ . nad . [*las*] . chuṅ . tha . [kyi] . [yan] . -i . . . [4] . . . . . . pab (par ?) . nog . tshil . *-wu* . *[ḫi]s* . *daṅ* . *ḫbras* . *ḫpul* : *gaṅ* . *glo* . *ba* . *myi* . *ḫriṅs* . paḫi . skye . . . . . . [5] . . . [*n*] . Myes . kol . la . sñan . sñuṅs . bgyis . ste . yar . gśegs . par . smond . s[*ñu*]n . na[d] . . . . . [6] . . [n]ad . las . gsos . śin . žal . mjald . par . smond . cin . mchis | | g . . . . . . [7] ba . bdagi . ḫpha . rgan . ñam . nonsu . gyurd . na . rul . bu . ma . khyams . pa . tsham . sñan . [sñuṅ] . . . . [8] chir . mdzad . | | tsha . bo . Seṅ . gaḫ . tse . la . | | Lha . lod . gyi . mchid . gsol . baḫ . bdag . nan . . . . [9] bdag . yas . mchis . na . mzind . par . thugs . dpags . chir . mdzad . žal . bzaṅ . [p]o . . .

[1–2] "For the hearing of the chief Stag-mton: letter-petition of Myes-tshab. The tidings having reached me up here upon inquiry of the soldiers that the chief is in anxiety as to his health, I am very uneasy in mind, and I apprehend that I am to be blamed. [3–4] Without having received . . . wages I cannot, even if I come, be of any help at all. When a little recovered from the illness . . . hump-fat and a full offering of fruit. A not very clever person . . . . [5–6] With good wishes for health to Myes-kol . . . pray to come up. Illness . . . when cured of illness I pray to meet face to face . . . . [7–8] my aged father being in bad health, will you . . . a little note without delay . . . . health."

[8–9] "To grandson Seṅ-gaḫ-tse: letter-petition of Lha-lod. Will you be so kind as not to . . . . . your humble servant . . . is beside . . . self ? . . . . your good countenance."

[1] Apparently crossed out.
[2] *lkam* ?

Notes

This is one of the not infrequent documents in which a letter from one person shows a postscript in the form of a letter from another, addressed either to the same individual (as in M. Tāgh. 0430, edited in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1087) or to a member of his family and so forth. In some instances the writer of the postscript is a woman, which, since names ending in *lod* are generally feminine, is probably the case here. The person addressed in the postscript as Seṅ-gaḫ-tse is probably the Stag-mton addressed in the same letter, Seṅ-gaḫ-tse being a residence name, such as we constantly find (see *supra*, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 79, and *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 47, 71–2); or perhaps it is his son.

The term " grandson ", as has been suggested in *Innermost Asia*, p. 1088 (M. Tāgh. 0436), need not be taken literally: it may be a politeness on the part of a senior friend, no doubt the wife of the writer of the main letter.

l. 3. *smad-yon*: For *sman-yon* (*JRAS*. 1927, pp. 816, 826).

tha-kyi: = *tha-gi*.

l. 4. *gan*: Cf. the phrases noted in *JRAS*. 1928, p. 586.

glo-ba-myi-ḫriṅs (= *riṅs*): Cf. *JRAS*. 1928, p. 557.

l. 7. *rul-bu*: I have taken this as = *ḫdrul-bu* " a short letter ".

l. 9. *mzind*: For *ma-zind* ?

(*p*) *Snaṅ-daṅ-ḫphrul-gyi-rtse* (" Vision and Magic Peak "). The name bears a likeness to *Ḫphrul-gyi-rtse* and *Ḫphrul-gyi-me-loṅ-kun-snaṅ-rtse*, *supra*, p. 254.

66. M. Tāgh. 004 (wooden tally; c. 11·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; three notches *verso*; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Snaṅ . daṅ . ḫprul . gi | [2] rtse

(M. Tāgh. 0158 is similar.)

67. M. Tāgh. *a*, i, 003 (wood; c. 17 × 1 cm.; broken

away at right and at bottom (without loss ?); l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, clear).

❦ | | Snaṅ . daṅ . ẖphrul . gyi . rtse . na . Bod . bźi . tshugs. gcig . la | -yi

"In Snaṅ-daṅ-ẖphrul-gyi-rtse for four Tibetans, one squad, . . ."

Notes

On *tshugs* see *supra*, p. 53.

(*q*) *Snaṅ-lun-rtse* ("Vision-Valley Peak"). Mentioned in *c*, ii, 0065, *infra*, p. 281.

(*r*) *Stag-ẖdus-dges-kyi-rtse* ("Tiger-gathering-rejoicing Peak") and *Stag-sras-dges-kyi-rtse* ("Tiger-son-rejoicing Peak").

Stag-sras has occurred as a place-naṃe in M. Tāgh. 0050 (p. 92 *supra*).

It is perhaps doubtful whether in these names the word *dges* or *dgyes* really means "rejoicing" (see *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 817–18, and M.T. 0351, *a*, ii, 0097, *c*, ii, 0017). The word *Stag* evidently alludes to the common application of the term to soldiers.

68. M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0043 (wood; c. 20·5 × 1 × 1 cm.; cut away at one side; ll. 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; on one side about 19 notches and lines).

[A] H̱j- . 'a (ma ?) : nas | | Stag : ẖdus : su : gtad : paẖi | ri . skyel : khraṃ [B] khram : bu : yaṅ : Stag : ẖdus : pa : tsugs : pon : la | gtad | do | |

"List of mountain escort supplied from H̱j- -'a to Stag-ẖdus. A list-ticket has also been supplied to the Stag-ẖdus sergeaunt."

Notes

On *khram* in connection with notched lines see *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 69–70, and *supra*, p. 65.

Ri-skyel has occurred *supra* (pp. 83, 254).

Tsugs-pon: See *supra*, p. 53.

69. M. Tāgh. 0589 (wooden tally; c. 14 × 2 cm.; com-

plete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, clear; groups of notches *recto* and *verso*).

[1] ༄ | | Stag . ḫdus . dgyes . | [2] kyi . rtse

(M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0031 is similar.)

70. M. Tāgh. 002 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; c. 6 notches and lines *recto*, c. 6 *verso*).

[1] ༄ | . | Stag . ḫdus . dges . gi . [2] rtse | nas

"Stag-ḫdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley."

71. M. Tāgh. 0012 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, 1 *akṣara verso*; 2 notches or lines *recto*, 2 *verso*).

[1] ༄ | | Stag . ḫdus . dgyes | nas | [2] gi . rtse | [B] pye

"Stag-ḫdus-dges-gi-rtse: barley, flour"

72. M. Tāgh. *i*, 0018 (wooden tally; c. 14 × 2 cm.; slightly broken; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 6 notches or lines *verso*).

[1] ༄ | : Stag . sras dges | [2] gyi . rtse

(*s*) *Stag-rtse* ("Tiger-Peak").

73. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0025 (wooden tally: c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; l. 1 *verso* in another hand; 4 notched lines).

[1] ༄ | : | Stag . rtse . Khri . skugs | [2] ḫjor . | [B] . pye . bre . do . bźag |

"Khri-skugs *ḫjor* of Stag-rtse: two *bre* of flour left."

74. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0032 (wooden tally; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; 6 notches *verso*; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | . | Stag . rtse . Khri . skugs |

"Khri-skugs in Stag-rtse."

75. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script; clear).

[1] ༄ | | Khri . skugs . ẖjor . gyi . so . pa . Li [2] gchig . chad

"One soldier of Khri-sgugs *ẖjor*, a Khotanī, punished (executed)."

On the expression (*Khri-sgugs*) *ẖjor* see p. 56 *supra*. It may be noted that in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0031 (p 269 *infra*) Khri-skugs is made to be a part of H̱bum-rnugs.

(*t*) *Stag-skugs-bye*(*gye*)-*ri-rtse* ("Tiger-in-wait-mountain Peak"). Sometimes the name appears as *Stag-sgugs* (*skugs*) only, e.g. in M.T. 0050 (p. 93) and *infra*.

76. M. Tāgh. 005 (wooden tally; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 3 notches or lines *recto*, 2 (?) *verso*).

[1] ༄ | : | Stag . skugs | [2] bye . ri . rtse

(M. Tāgh. 0011 is similar, but seems to have *gye* in place of *bye*)

77. M. Tāgh, *a*, iii, 0038 (wooden tally; c 11·5 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, partly smudged; 4 notches or lines *recto*, 4 + 1 *verso*)

༄ | . | Stag . skugs . bye . *ri* . -rtse | - - nas

"Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse: barley."

78. M. Tāgh. 0010 (wooden tally; c. 10 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ༄ | : | Stag . skugs | [B 1] nas . bre . drug . ma . nos . te . [B 2] pyi[su] . nod

"Stag-skugs: barley, six *bre*, not received: deliver later."

79. M. Tāgh. *i*, 0026 (wood; c. 11 × 2 cm.; complete; pointed at left; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

❦ | Stag . skugs . kyi . so . pa

"Soldier of Stag-skugs."

80. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0019 (wood; c. 12 × 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] | [S]tag . skugs gyi . rgoṅ . yan . cad . du | peḫu . lṅa : | [A 2] . . bẑi . ṅos . cig . la : ḫdom . bẑi : | gnam : | [B 1] . . . . . . m(y ?)an . cad . | drug . stoṅ . bẑi [B 2] . . . . . . k(g ?)yi . ñi . stoṅ . |

"As far up as the wilds of Stag-skugs, five *peḫu* . . . . four; on one side four fathoms straight (?): as far down as . . . six thousand, four . . . of . . . two thousand."

Notes

A 1. *rgoṅ*: Perhaps we should read *rgod*, comparing the phrase *rgod-kyi-gle-gugs*, p. 259 *supra*.

Cf. *JRAS*. 1927, pp. 817–18 ?: *peḫu*: the word recurs *b*, *i*, *00113 and 0552 infra, also in c*, *iii*, *0087*.

V. Other Places presumably in the Khotan Region

(*a*) *Bsam-cha* (*Sam-cha*).

See *infra*, p. 279, 282.

(*b*) *Bya-maṅs-tshal* ("Many-Bird Wood").

81. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 001 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches *verso*; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ❦ | : | Bya . maṅs . tshal . | [B] . . . rta . chas . . . .

"Bya-maṅs-tshal . . . horse-trappings (*or* a party of horse ?) . . ."

(*c*) *Bya-rig-skugs*.

See *infra*, p. 269.

Note

Bya-rig-skugs can hardly be different from Stag-skugs-bye-ri-rtse, *supra*, pp. 266–7.

(*d*) *Bya-tshaṅ-smug-po* (" Bird-Copse (?) Reeds ").

82. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0042 (wood; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; slightly fragmentary at top left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] [☙ | . | D]graḫi . śakri . yan . chad : Bya . tshaṅ . smug . phor : Nam . ru . pag [A 2] sum . tshugs : | gchig . ḫkhyam . źiṅ : so . tshor . stsald : | [B] paḫi . dgra . thabs : |

" In Bya-tshaṅ-smug-po up to Dgraḫi-śag mountain three Ṅam-ru-pag [soldiers], one squad, gone astray—report to the soldiers of the enemy's chance (*dgra-thabs ?*)."

Notes

A 1. *Nam-ru-pag* is the name of a regiment several times mentioned (p. 275 *infra*).

tshugs: See *supra*, p. 53.

so-tshor: On *tsho* see *supra*, p. 65: with *dgra-thabs* it recurs in *a*, iv, 0011.

(*e*) *Byi-glan-pam*.

In M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0098 (paper) occurs the sentence—

83. | Byi . glaṅ . [*paṃ*] . ya[ṅ] . khrom . du . ni . khral . phran . . . . bton . . . .

" Send to the market town Byi-glaṅ-paṃ also small levies . . . ."

The place is otherwise unknown. On the Keriya river Sir Aurel Stein's maps note a place called Bilangan, which might be **Byi-glan-gam*.

(*f*) *Del-ge* or *Hel-ge*.

See *supra*, p. 69, and *infra*, p. 270.

(*g*) *Dmu-mur*.

See *infra*, p. 291.

(*h*) *Dur-ya.*

See *supra*, p. 259. As pointed out in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 260–1, this is probably the modern Duwa.

(*i*) *Ḫbog-la-tham.*

Associated pp. 281–2 *infra* with Yol-ba-ri and Sam-cha.

(*j*) *Ḫbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.*

84. M. Tāgh. 0334 (wood; c. 20·5 × 2 cm.; broken away at right; hole for string at left; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] [1] ༄ | . | Ḫbrog . lig . yan . cag . tsa . gyi . so . pa . la . sprin . ṅo . s-ags . . . [2] yig . ḫdi | tshes . bcu . dguḫi | nam . . . . na (ba ?) . Śin . . . [B] ñin . tsod . mdzan . tsod . dam . | du . zun . śig |

"Sent to the soldiers of Ḫbrog-lig-yan-cag-tsa.

"This letter . . . *when received* on . . . of the nineteenth, is to be taken promptly, day-time or night-time, to Śiṅ-*śan*."

Notes

Concerning this place we have no information: it was in some region of nomads (*Ḫbrog*). *Cag* recurs in *Byeḫu-cag* and *Tsheḫu-cag*.

[B] *ñin-tsod-mdzan-tsod-dam-du*: See *supra*, p. 82.

(*k*) *Ḫbum-rnugs.*

85. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0043 (wood; c. 14 × 2·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ༄ | : | Ḫbum . rṅugs . su . Li . Pu . god | myi . ḫjigsna . mchis [1] [A 2] Ho si (?) [2] | Gyu . mo . na . mcis . Śir . ḫdo . mgo . śu . [cun] | [B] Ltag . bži . naḫ mcis ||

"In Ḫbum-rṅugs is the Khotanī Pu-god, under safe-conduct (*myi-ḫjigsna* ?); Ho-si (?) is in Gyu-mo. Śir-ḫdo Mgo-śu-cun (?) is in Ltag-bži."

[1] Below line.
[2] Above line.

Note

The reading Ho-si Gyu-mo, "Gyu-mo West of the river" (*supra*, pp. 47, 90 sqq.), is incorrect.

86. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0031 (wooden tally; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | : | H̱bum . rṅugs . Khri . skugs | [2] ẖjor.

"Khri-skugs *ẖjor* (*cor*) in H̱bum-rṅugs."

From this reference to Khri-skugs *ẖjor*, which is also in Stag-rtse (q.v., pp. 264–5), it is clear that these two places are in the same region as H̱bum-rṅugs.

(*l*) *H̱bu-śaṅ or H̱bu-żan.*

Mentioned above, p. 92 (M.T. 0050), and also in pp. 282–4 *infra*, this name is found in connection with a Yol-ba hill. In the following it occurs along with Śiṅ-śan and Bya-rig-skugs. It was probably the hill of which Śin-śan was a part.

87. M. Tāgh. 0442 (wood; c. 18 × 2 cm.; broken away at left; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] [H̱bu . śa*n* . gi . S*luṅ*]s : tsun . chad . Bya : rig : skugsu : H̱or . chig | | [A 2] . . . G[ño]s . Snaṅ . rtsan . [n]ı . [sṅ]ar . dgras : gtord . pas . tshegs . che [B 1] . . . [*gyıs . snar*] [mchi] : bar . ẖtshol . ch[ig] | Śin . śan . phan . cad . kyi . so [B 2] . . . [Śiṅ] . śan . na . ẖdus . śiṅ . . . . . -na(u ?)ms : | Gño[*s*] : Snaṅ . rtsa[*n*] [B 3] . . . . . bar . du . żog : la : gż-n : | |

"In Bya-rig-skugs this side the Sluṅs of H̱bu-śaṅ one H̱or (Turk) . . . The Gños-Snaṅ-rtsan having first been scattered by the enemy, with great effort (?) make *them* go forward. The soldiers as far as beyond Śiṅ-śan . . . . being mustered in Śiṅ-śan . . . . leave the Gños-Snaṅ-tsan . . . between . . . and . . ."

Note

A 2, B 3. *Gños-Snaṅ-rtsan* : On *Gños* as a tribal name see *JRAS.* 1928, p. 577–8. The Gños-Snan-rtsan may be a regiment.

88. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0024 (wood ; c. 12 × 1·5 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of scrawled cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] | H̱bu : śaṅ : pa(?)ẖi.

[B] H̱bu : śaṅ.

(*m*) *Hel-ge* (*or Del-ge*).

See *supra*, p. 69. No information, except that the place, being associated with Nag, was probably in the Mdo-lo district. It is mentioned in Ch. 73, xiii, 8, as *Hel-ke.*

(*n*) *H̱jag-ma-gu.*

Mentioned in p. 92 *supra* (M.T. 0050). Since *ẖjag-ma* is the name of a kind of grass, the place probably exhibited that feature.

89. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 003 (wood ; c. 13 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

| | Mjag . ma . mgur . na . Bod . gñis . mchis . |

" In Mjag-ma-gu are arrived two Tibetans."

(M. Tāgh. 009, a wooden tally, complete, reads *Mjag-ma-gur* only.)

(*o*) *H̱o-ni.*

Mentioned p. 73 *supra* and *JRAS.* 1928, p. 568 (M.I. xiv, 23). It occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0494 *a*, i, 0012, M.I. x, 9, and p. 278 *infra*. Whether it was in the Nob region or in the Khotan region does not appear.

90. M. Tāgh. 0575 (wood ; c. 14 × 2 cm. ; broken away at right ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] | . | Spaṅ . rje . Rgoṅ (rgod ?) . koṅ . yaṅ . | -i . . .

[2] btaṅ . gis . | | H̱o . nir . mchis . saṃ . .

"*Spaṅ-rje Rgoṅ-koṅ . . . sent: is in Ḫo-ni or . . .*"

(*p*) *Jeg-śiṅ.*

Mentioned p. 276 *infra,* where it is associated with Par-ban in a manner showing that it was in the same district and that it was a valley.

91. M. Tāgh. 0552 (wooden stick; c. 32 × 1·5 × 1·5 cm.; somewhat curved, with the edges of the four sides somewhat flattened; several notches, etc.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and partly illegible).

[1] ༄ | | tsa . bo . Btsan . bžre . daṅ . Ḫphan . bžre . dan . . . legs . la . stsogs . pa . la | Rdzi . legs . kyi . gslo . ba : | d . . .

[2] Jeg . śin . gi . laṃ . naḫ . ḫpyu[ṅ . *baḫi*] : laṃ : du: byu[ṅ] : ste . [m]chis | pyu [*g*] . .· pon . . . . [*gyi*] [steṅ . *du*] . . .

[3] su . mchis . pa . las . . . . gy- . . . lag . myi . peḫu . stag . par . gyurd | : bdag : cag . brg-g- : m . p- .

[4] . . rnaṃsu . . .

"To grandsons Btsan-bžer and Ḫphan-bžer and — legs and the rest: letter of Rdzi-legs. I am on the road *leading to* (?) the Jeg-śin road . . ." (*the remainder too illegible to allow of a continuous rendering*).

(*q*) *Khri-skugs hjor.*

Associated with *Ḫbum-rṅugs* and Stag-rtse: see p. 259 *supra.*

(*r*) *Lin-sked-chad.*

See p. 281 *infra.*

(*s*) *Lho-lo-pan-ro-rbog-skyes.*

Mentioned in M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 004, as a townlet (*mkhar-bu*).

(*t*) *Mdo-lo* and its town (*mkhar*).

Mentioned in No. 20 *supra,* p. 70.

Mdo-lo, always associated with Me-skar, is named in the Tibetan chronicle of Khotan (*Ancient Khotan,* p. 583), and also in the two other Tibetan accounts of Buddhism in Khotan

(*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . Jubilee Volumes*, iii, pp. 37 and 48). The two latter rather contradictorily speak of Mdo-lo in Me-skar and of taking from Me-skar the road to Mdo-lo "traversing mountains and valleys". But it is easy to reconcile this by supposing Mdo-lo to be the mountainous, further, part of Me-skar, and the general probability is that it lay in the Polu direction. It was on the route of the Buddhists who fled from Khotan to Tibet, which was perhaps the ordinary route of communications between the two countries.

(*u*) *Me-nu.*

Mentioned *infra* (p. 291) in the name *Me-nu Ña-gzigs.*

(*v*) *Mjag-ma-gu.*

See *Ḫjag-ma-gu, supra*, p. 270.

(*w*) *Nag.*

Mentioned *supra*, p. 69, where the place appears to be in the Mdo-lo district of the Khotan king's dominions: accordingly it is different from the Nag-śod of *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 561–2.

92. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0063 (paper, fol. 13 in volume; c. 27 × 7 cm.; complete; ll. 5 *recto* of rather small cursive *dbu-can* script, partly faint; ll. 3 *verso* in another hand).

[A 1] ❧ | | [J]o . co . Stag . bžre [1] . gyi . [ža . snar] | | [sr]id . drugi . mchid . gsol . baḫ | jo . co . lha . dpal . thugs . bde . bar [2] s[m]o[nd . cin] . mchis | tses . ñi . [śu] . dguḫi . nub . mo . | Skyan . ro . nas . | rkya . gsum . daṅ . rkan . [*bcu*] . gcig . mchis . pas . pho . ña . [*Ph*]od . kar [3] mtshan . ma . mchis . pa [2] . brkas . te . ḫtshal . nas . | bdag . daṅ . [tha]ṅ . Nag . tu . mjald . nas [3] . rkun . por . ṅo . ma . ḫtshal . te . mchis . na[ḫ] [4] rgya[*n*] . kun . tu . glo . ba . cuṅ . žiṅ . mchis . na . žib . bkas . rma . bar . thugs . rje . chir . gzigs | . | ḫtshal . baḫi . spu . stag . bži . khon . ba . -u .

[1] Compendious for *bžer*.
[2] *pa* below line.
[3] *s* crossed out.

[5] mtshal . ser . daṅ . mtshal ᠀ (*bre?*) . daṅ . [kum] . ser . daṅ . | [*gsum*] mchis . [na]g.

[*B—a different document.*]

[B 1] ❦ | : Ḥu . ten . ban . nog . Ro . [*ẑaṅ*] . legs . kyi : gñen | | Sum . pa . Gsas . slebs . rma . ste . spyan [2] ras . kyis . btsaḥ . bar . ẑaṅ . lon . la . bsgu[l] |

[A 1–2] "In the presence of the chief Stag-bẑer: letter-petition of the Six Estates. We pray that His Highness the chief may be happy. [A 2–3] On the evening of the twenty-ninth there came from Skyaṅ-ro three loads (*rkya?*) and eleven bundles. Upon our sending orders the messenger, who had the mark of a Phod-kar, joined us in the Nag plain. We do not make him out to be a robber. [A 4–] The . . . is very stupid: have the kindness to question him closely. The persons sent are four soldier brothers: their rations are . . ."

[B 1—*a different document.*]

"A kinsman of the Ḥu-ten *bande* Ro-ẑaṅ-legs, stated to be the Sum-pa Gsas-slebs, sent on to the noble councillor for examination (or 'as being a spy'?)."

Notes

The translation is dubious in places.

l. 2. *Skyan-ro*: Name of a locality, on the lines of *Cog-ro*, *Ḥgreṅ-ro*, etc. A *Skyaṅ-po*, i.e. a man of the *Skyaṅ* tribe of *Skyaṅ-ro*, was mentioned in *JRAS.* 1928, p. 562, and another p. 583.

Phod-kar: This local tribe name will come up for consideration later.

l. 3. *rkun-por*: It is interesting to see that a suspicion of robbery (of the grain) was promptly aroused in the Nag district, which above (p. 67) was mentioned in connection with robberies.

l. 4. *rgyan*: ? for *rkyaṅ* "wild ass"?

Altogether this incident, in which an up-countryman, arriving with a convoy of grain, naturally in the circum-

stances arouses the suspicion of the local Tibetans, is not without a certain human interest: unable to make anything of him and baffled by his stupidity, the embarrassed officials send him on, with an escort, to headquarters—a Tibeto-Turkestan idyll of the eighth century A.D.

l. 4. *spu*: Cf. *spun-dmag* (*JRAS.* 1928, p. 581)?

mtshal-ser . . .: This passage is obscure.

B. 1. *ban-nog*: For the suffix *nog* (forming a plural of honour?) used in cases of *bandes* cf. the document edited in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains*, pp. 402–3.

Sum-pa: Cf. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 85 and reff. The Sum-pas are stated in the dictionary to be the people of Amdo in north-eastern Tibet.

spyan-ras-kyis-btsaḫ-bar: On this phrase see p. 258 *supra* and p. 278 *infra* and M.T. 0516: *btsaḫ* recurs also p. 283.

(*x*) *Ña-gram.*

A place-name used as a surname: it occurs in *a*, i, 0015; *a*, iii, 002; *a*, v, 0015 (p. 256 *supra*).

(*y*) *Par-ban.*

Mentioned p. 85 (M.T. *c*, iii, 0025) *supra*, in an urgent letter directed to be sent down (i.e. no doubt from Tibet) to Par-ban on the one hand and Dru-gu *ḫjor* on the other for forwarding to Śiṅ-śan. The implication is that for the sake of security duplicates were sent. Since certainly the Dru-gu *ḫjor* lay, as will be shown later, to the east, it seems clear that the Par-ban route must have led to a descent *via* Cer-cen or Polu; and this is confirmed by a document (given below, p. 281) in which Par-ban is associated with [Ho-toṅ] Gyu-mo. The name does not seem to be Tibetan, and so is probably older than the Tibetan rule. Its non-occurrence in the Mīrān documents suggests that the place lay rather in the Khotan region than in that of Nob. Might it be the Parvata which in the Kharoṣṭhī documents (see now Professor Rapson's index) is several times mentioned in connection with Caḍota (Niya region)?

94. M. Tāgh. *c*, iv, 0036 (wood, pointed at left; c. 12 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | . | Par . ban . gyi . th[o]d . ka'. gyi . śo . rtsaṅ . [2] ḫgram . du . Nam . ru . pag . gi . [*gsuṃ*] [B] [*ron*] . rṅu . mchis . paḫi.

"In the upper toll-station of Par-ban are arrived three of Nam-ru-pag with a *ron-rnu* (?)."

Notes

Nam-ru-pag is a frequently mentioned regiment (and district ?): see *Innermost Asia*, pp 1084–5, and p. 267 *supra*.

Śo-rtsaṅ-ḫgram: "Toll-granary-bank." The same phrase occurs in 0522 (*Innermost Asia*, loc. cit.) and in 0015 (*chu-ḫdus-kyi-rtsan-ḫgram* "granary bank of the confluence"): *śo-rtsaṅ* is found in the *Gośṛṅga-vyākarana*, fol. 354, ll. 4 and 7. The meaning probably is a granary for storing grain taken as toll at a crossing. On *rtsan* see *JRAS*. 1927, p. 69. In some cases *ḫgram* is perhaps confused with *gam* (ibid., p. 57).

ron-rnu: The reading is uncertain. Perhaps the meaning may be soldiers with an officer: with *ron-rnu* (if correct) cf. *ce-rnu* or *tsa-rṅu*, *JRAS*. 1928, pp. 563, 571. The genitive *mchis-paḫi* at the end either implies a continuation in another document (which was not unusual) or is like some genitives in Indian inscriptions and means merely that the wooden tablet belonged, or related, to the persons named. The usage is highly natural, and not rare in these documents.

95. M. Tāgh. 0523 (wood; c. 7·5 × 2·5 cm.; broken away at left; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Par . ban . gsar . gy . . . [2] gyi . tshu . roldan . [*dr*]ogs (tshugs ?) . gcig . . . [3] gyi : sno[n . *sde*(du ?)] . stsald . . .

"Sent to reinforce (*snon-sde* (*du?*)) . . . this side of . . . New Par-ban and . . . one squad."

Notes

l. 2. *tshugs* : See p. 53 *supra*.

l. 3. *snon* : See p. 65 *supra* and add M.T. *a*, iii, 0034.

96. M. Tāgh. 0497 (paper ; c. 18·5 × 9 cm. ; fragmentary at right and below ; ll. 6 of rather large rough cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Naṅ . rje . po . Khri . bže[r] . las . [sts]o[g]s . pa . la . . . [2] daṅ . Khyuṅ . bžer . gyi . mchid . gsol . ba | | naṅ . [rje] . . . [3] thugs . bde . ḫam . myi . bde . mchid . yige . las . g[so] . . . [4] cag . gyaṅ . Par . ban . daṅ . Je[g] . śiṅ . gi . mdo . [tshu*n*] . . . [5] tog . dpon . [*ḫsog*] . . [6] la . śi . . .

" To Home Minister Khri-bžer and the rest : letter-petition of . . . and Khyun-bžer. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] We also . . . . as far as Par-ban and the lower valley of Jeg-śiṅ . . ."

Note

On Jeg-śiṅ see p. 271 *supra*.

(*z*) *Peḫu-mar* (cf. *Peḫu-rtse*).

Mentioned p. 56 *supra*.

97. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 001 (paper, fol. no. 43 in vol. ; c. 28 × 13 cm. ; rather fragmentary and discoloured ; ll. 12 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | žaṅ . po . Ḫphan . bžre[1] . la . | | Gsas . [*sle*]bs . gy[*i*] . [*mchi*]d . gsol . baḫ . | mchid . gyis . rmasna | thugs . bd[e] . . . [2] | thos . te . bdag . nan . pa . yaṅ . smon . pa . las . ma . gal . te : glo . ba . ra[b . tu] . dgaḫ . ži[*ṅ* . m]ch[i]s . | bkaḫ . phrin . daṅ . śul . du . mjal . te . | nan . phabs . [*gli* ?] (phri ?) . . . [3] dbul . bar . bgyis . pa . | ñuṅ . śas . žig . mchispa . [la]s . | . . d . po . la . g-es . par . mchi . kar . phyag . las . g-o . ma . nas . slar . lus . te . . . [4] bdag . kyaṅ . rab . tu . gnoṅ . te . bkaḫ . chad . ḫtshal . . slad . gyis .

[1] Compendious for *bžer*.

*ph*yogs . *gyi* . . . . na (cha ?) . bkaḫ . myi . ḫbab . [*b*] . . . . ṅ . ga . cir . [5] mdzad . bdag . . . . -n . cig . ma . mch[i]s . [par] . [s]ṅa . s[l]ad . -i . . . [*th*u]gs . pag . mdzad . [par] . . . . . bskur . ciṅ [6] mch[i]s . | da . yaṅ . ḫdi . skad . sñan . sñuṅs . gsol . te . [*bkaḫ*] . [*tsh* .] [m]yi . ḫbab . | bdag . kyaṅ . Peḫu . mar . gyi . so . par . mchis . pa . sug . rj[e]d . Li . [g]sum . [7] la . cig . ni . bro . ḫtshal . cig . ni . riṅ . sdod . ḫtshal . . . . ch[i]g . tshal . ma . nod . du . btaṅ . źiṅ . mchisna . *Ḫo* . *ni* . dag . du . ḫkhor . bar . *rgyur* . na . . [8] tshal . brgyags . kyaṅ . gton . la . thugste . rab . tu . poṅs . śiṅ . mchis . na . ḫdi . źal . ta . tsam . mdzade . -re . yaṅ . [*r*]gyad . daṅ . sgyu . dag . mchis . [9] śe[s . g]daḫ . na . sgyu . ma . śor . bar . spyan . ras . gyi[s] . btsa . źiṅ . [m]noste | lis . ci . theg . pa . . sa (s–a ?) . ma . brtsaṅ . | slad . ma . źaṅ . poḫi . phyag . tu . phyag [10] rgyas . btab . te . bźag . nas . slar . len . par . ḫtshal . na | ḫdi . tsam . źig . spyan . ras . gyis . btsa . bar . thugs . rje . cir . zigs . | ma . | [11] bskyud . gyi . mtshan . ma . sman . sna . gsuṃ . [ži]g . sug . rgyas . btabste . bskur . ba . daṅ . spyan . zigs . ja . tor . gñis . śig . ḫbul . źi[ṅ] [12] mchis . na . bźes . par . ci . gnaṅ . chuṅ [b] . ś[*a*]s . bkaḫ . myi . ḫbab . par . gsol . źiṅ . mchis . |

[1–2] "To Uncle Ḫphan-bźer: letter-petition of Gsas-slebs. [*Then after the usual compliments*] [2–5] Encountering your missive on the way, I made earnest endeavour to deliver . . . only a little having come, and . . . left of the hemp (? *gro-ma*) from the present (*phyag* ?) on the occasion of coming to . . . to . . . I am very much ashamed and ought to be reprimanded. Hereafter, if . . . . , would you do . . . not sending a reprimand. [5–6] I . . . no . . . having come, first and last giving attention to . . . shall be sending. For the present, merely on this occasion asking after your health, may *I* not be reprimanded. [6–9] I also am come to the soldiery (as a soldier ?) of Peḫu-mar. Of the three Khotanīs in the hand-list one is laid up, one is indolent, one, having been sent to get his rations, has (will have ?) to return to Ḫo-ni-dag. Even if he succeeds in getting the food-supplies

sent, he is quite destitute, and, as he is only acting as a servant, it is possible that . . . and deception may come about. [9–10] In case deception may escape, I have determined to keep my eyes open. What a Khotanī is capable of, the earth has not . . . Later having sent him with a sealed letter to the hand of the Uncle, I beg (you ?) to receive him back. For the moment will you please be so good as to keep your eyes open ? [10–12] As a sign of not having forgotten, I am sending some three medicines with a seal attached, and I am offering as a present two *ja-tor*. Please accept them. I beg you for a little while not to reprimand (me)."

Notes

l. 6. *sug-rjed*: "hand-list" recurs in M.T. 0193.

l 7. *Ḫo-ni-dag*: This seems to be a dual or plural of *Ḫo-ni*, which in that case would be double. Or can the meaning be "the Ho-ni people" ?

l. 8. *-re-(yan-)rgyad*: This might perhaps be for *ḫdre-(yaṅ-)brgyad* "eight devils". One of the documents (M.I. xiv, 002) uses the phrase "a *ḫdre* is in my mind", meaning "I am depressed".

l. 9. *ls-ci-theg*· Some proverb disrespectful to the native Khotanīs is perhaps intended.

spyan-ras-gyis-btsa: The phrase recurs in l. 10 and pp. 258, 274.

l. 11. *ja-tor*: Is this = *ja-phor* "tea-cup" ?

(*aa*) *Rgya-ḫdrug-ḫdul.*

This seems to be a place-name *infra*, pp. 282–3.

(*bb*) *Roṅ-lins.*

This seems to be a place-name in ——

98. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0060 (wood; c. 13 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

❧ | : | Ḫbro : ḫi | Roṅ . liṅs . yul . bzuṅ |

"Roṅ-liṅs in Ḫbro taken."

Note

Ḫbro : In N.E. Tibet; recurs in *Bstan-ḫgyur* colophons.

(*cc*) *Sam-cha.*

Mentioned p. 256 *supra* and pp. 272–3 *infra.*

99. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0022 (wooden tally; c. 12 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at left; several notches *recto*; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; a different hand *recto* l. 2 and *verso*).

[A 1] ༄ | . | Bsam . cha . Mdo . gchod | [A 2] ḫ[bu]l

[B 1] ༄ | | Mṅal . ḫpan . gi . sde . rag [B 2] Ḫpan . rogs . gyis . pye . bre . do . bs[*ts*]is . ba . slad . gis.

" [To] Mdo-gchod of Bsam-cha : offered. By *rag* Ḫphan-rogs of the Mṅal-ḫp[h]an regiment, two *bre* of flour, after the census."

Notes

B 1. *Mnal-ḫpan-gi-sde* : This might be the " sick-assisting regiment " : see *supra*, p. 94.

In another document also (M. Tāgh. *a*, ii, 0098) *Bsam-cha* is used as a surname.

(*dd*) *Śel-than.*

Mentioned p. 71 *supra.*

(*ee*) *Snan-hu-ḫa.*

This is described as a townlet (*mkhar-bu*).

100. M. Tāgh. ii, 1 (wood; c. 13·5 × 2 cm.; broken away at top left; l. 1 (+ lower part of another) *recto* + 1 (+ upper part of another) *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . .

[A 2] . . . [*la*] . | | gros . mṅan . gi . ḫbaṅs . Kho . lho

[B 1] . . n . Snaṅ . [hu] . ḫa . mkar : bu . na . | Bod . bźi . tshugs [B 2] . . . [ḫ] . [bar . tse . s-ir . tsh-gs . po-.]

" To . . . Kho-lho, servant of the authorities in council.

. . . In the townlet Snaṅ-hu-ḫa two Tibetans, . . . squad . . . in . . . bar-tse-s-i sergeaunt."

The same place may be mentioned below, pp. 282–3.

(*ff*) *Sta-gu* and *Ta-gu*.

Some references to this place, which was a *khrom* "mart", have been given in *JRAS*. 1928, p. 589, and Ta-gu, which is, no doubt, the same, has occurred pp. 57–8 *supra*. The fact that the place is mentioned in documents both from Mīrān, where it is definitely brought into connection with Tshal-byi, and from Mazār Tāgh suggests that it lay on the confines of the two administrations, and it seems likely that it was somewhere in the valley of the Cer-cen river.

101. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 002 (wooden stick; *c*, 39 × 1 × 1·5; nearly complete; ll. 1 [A] + 1 [B] + 1 [C] + 1 + 2 [D] of square *dbu-can* script, two sizes).

[C] . . . zla . Khyi : tsa · ṅan : rjᵉe : pho : Stagu : gaṅs : gram : mkhan · zeḫu.

"Friend Khyi-tsa, . *žehu* of Sta-gu *gaṅs* bank (?)."

102. M. Tāgh. 0491 (paper; c. 7 × 10 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary square *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | žaṅ . cig . Stag . gu . -i . . [2] ḫam . myi . bde . mchid . yi . . . . [3] stsal . par . ci . g . . . [4] mtho . dbu . rmog . . .

This is sent to a councillor in Sta-gu with compliments and good wishes.

103. M. Tāgh. *b*, ii, 0017 (wood, curved; c. 16 × 2 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather square *dbu-can* script, blurred).

[A] ༄ | : | Li . Śirdad | Stags : gur . ri . zug | [B] . . . -u . ru . chog . . .

"Khotānī Śir-dad is in Sta-gu with mountain sickness . . ."

(*gg*) *Ta-ha*.

The existence of a place so named appears from the following

documents, one of which associates it with [Ho-toṅ] Gyu-mo and Par-ban.

104. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0065 (paper, fol. no. 52 in volume; c. 14 × 7 cm.; fragmentary at right; ll. 4 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Ta . ha : naḫ | Sna : nam . Zla . bžre[1] | ri . zug | Tshu . . . [2] Snaṅ . luṅ . rtse . naḫ | Khyuṅ . po . Myes . skyes : ri : zug . . . [3] Liṅ . sked . chad . naḫ | Gže . ma : Sman : lod : ri : zug | Ḫbog . . . [4] Drugu . ḫjor : naḫ | Po . si : -o | : Pyi : slebs : ri : zug | | . . .

"In Ta-ha the Samarkandī Zla-bžer, *ri-zug*. In Tshu . . . In Snaṅ-luṅ-rtse Khyuṅ-po Myes-skyes *ri-zug*. . . . In Liṅ-sked-chad Gže-ma Sman-lod, *ri-zug*. In Ḫbog . . . In the Dru-gu *ḫjor* Po-si-o Phyi-slebs *ri-zug*."

Notes

On *ri-zug* "mountain-sick" (?) see *supra*, pp. 84, 258; on Snaṅ-luṅ-rtse, p. 263; on Lin-sked-chad, p. 271; on the Dru-gu *ḫjor*, p. 56; on Sna-nam, p. 291 *infra*; on *Khyun-po*, p. 93 *supra*.

Tshu . . . is, no doubt, part of a name: *Ḫbog* . . . is very likely the *Ḫbog-la-tham* of p. 282–3 *infra*.

Sman-lod, in virtue of the syllable *lod*, should probably be a woman, and the name Gže-ma reinforces the probability (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582).

105. M. Tāgh. 0064 (wood; c. 12·5 × 1·5 cm.; complete; l. 1 *recto* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; some traces of erased writing *verso*).

[A] ༄ | . | Ta . haḫ |

106. M. Tāgh. 0524 (wood; c. 16 × ·75 × 1 cm.; fragmentary at left; l. 1 of ordinary, square *dbu-can* script, in 3 compartments; 5 notches in B).

༄ | Ta ha | Gyumo : tshugs : ñis | Par : ban | | | | |

"Ta-ha | Gyu-mo, two squads | Par-ban."

[1] Compendious for *bžer*.

When publishing this document in Sir A. Stein's *Innermost Asia* (p. 1085), I had not realized that both *Ta-ha* and *Par-ban* were certainly place-names, and hence the document was declared "unintelligible". The other occurrences suffice to make all clear.

On Par-ban and Gyu-mo see *supra*, pp. 90 sqq., 264–6.

(*hh*) *Tsheḫu-cag*.

107. M. Tāgh. 007 (wooden tally; c. 9 × 1·5 cm.; slightly broken away, hole for string at right, l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; 5 notches or lines *recto*, 3 *verso*).

❧ | . | Tsheḫu . chag . |

108. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0033 (wood; c. 9 × 1·5 cm.; complete; hole for string at right; l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

Tsheḫu . cagi . so . paḫ

"Soldier of Tsheḫu-cag."

Under the variant form *Rtseḫu-cag* this name has occurred *supra*, p. 93, and with the above spelling, p. 256 (M. Tāgh. 0615).

(*ii*) *Yol-ba-ri* ("the Yol-ba hill").

The name may retain a memory of Yol (Yeula), the early king of Khotan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 237). It is associated with Ḫbu-śan.

109. M. Tāgh. *c*, iii, 0027 (wood, c. 25/1 × 1 cm.; fragmentary right and left, one side (D) broken away for purposes of a tally (?) and showing 6 notches, C also showing a number of independent notches; A, ll. 2 (one compartment), B, l. 1, (6 compartments) of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; C, l. 1 of a strange script, apparently a derivative of Brāhmī).

[A] [1] sde . rjes . bre . bdun . kyan . [A 2] ḫtshald (*also independently*) [1] brgyags : [2] ḫtshald.

[B] | : lyin : | Ḫbog . la . tham | Rgya : drug . ḫdul | Yol : ba : ri | Sam : chaḫ | [S]na[*n*] . -u . -ya . (-gya, -gra ?).

[C] *Illegible.*

The four compartments probably contain only place-names, although the third name "China- and Drug-taming" or "Six-Chinese-taming" would be more appropriate to a regiment—perhaps it is the name of a hill-station (*rtse*).

Lyiṅ may have something to do with *Liṅ-sked-chad*, while *Sam-cha* certainly, and perhaps *Ḫbog-la-tham* and *Snaṅ--u--ya* (*Snaṅ-hu-ḫa*), have been noted above (see pp. 279–281).

110. Khad. 052 (paper, originally folded in a long slip, like a modern Tibetan letter; complete; ll. 6 *recto* + 6 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, exceedingly faint).

(A for the most part illegible—a different document.)

[B 1] . . m | rta . gi . loḫi . dpyid . sla . ra . baḫi . ṅo . la | so . btsas . de . Ḫbu . žaṅ . Yol . ba . ri . ḫi . byan . g-yog . Li : naṅ . g[l]eg [B 2] ḫi . Li . Su . dad . ces . kyi . lan . ma[*ṅ*] . mo . žig . snogs (sphrogs ?) . de | Li . phun . du . chad . pas . dgum . žes . bgyis . na . khon . ḫi . tshe [B 3] nas . kyan . dgum . ri . zu . du . yan . gžag . ces . bgyis . na | tshug . pon . las . bsogs . de . rog . po . cha . gsum . la . doṅ . tse . bži . s[t]on . lṅa . rgya [B 4] so . rog . bskaṅ . sṅa . rold . mo . d[no]s-e . . so . . ru . cha . . . dbul . bar . bgyis . de . [*der*] . ḫam . gyu . bgyisna . . [B 5] gcig . las . gñisu . bsgyur . ba . [*ra*]d . gos . yan . chad . phrogs . de . rgya[b] . chad . gyis . gyaṅ . chad . la . ri . zu . du . yaṅ . gžag . par . bgyis . [B 6] paḫi . dpaṅ . laḫ | tshugs . skyu . daṅ . gñis [*gya* | *gya* | *gya*] [la] s . bsogs . pa . ḫi . dpaṅ . rgyas . bthad.

[B 1–2] "At the beginning of the first spring month of the Horse year, on examining the soldiers, a Khotanī *gleg*, named Su-dad, one of the Khotanīs serving as cooks in Yol-ba-ri in Ḫbu-žan, having many times caused annoyance(?), it was decided that he should be put to death in the Khotanī troop. [B 2–4] It being decided that even after his death (though he must die ?) he should be put in the *ri-zu*, his comrades, the sergeaunt and so forth, three parties, agreed to pay one thousand five hundred *doṅ-tse* as ransom of their comrade, the first quota at once (?) . . . [B 4–5] In case the parties prove tricky, for each [*doṅ-tse*] two shall be substituted,

and they may be deprived of everything down to their travel-clothes and punished as far as flogging and also put in the ri-zu. [B 6] *In witness whereof the signatures of the squad-leader and the two . . . and the rest are appended."*

Notes

This is one of the not infrequent cases where we have mention of punishment or execution of Khotanīs by the Tibetan authorities; cf. *supra*, p. 49. They show that the Tibetan control was sternly maintained.

B 1. *byan-g-yog*: The phrase is found also in M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 0059, "cook-service," and M I xiv, 124, 0070.

l. 3. *ri-zu*: Sense uncertain. Is it "torture" or "prison", of "left in the mountains"? Recurs in *c*, iv, 0038.

doṅ-tse: A frequently named coin.

gyu: Usually *gya-gyu* "trickery"; cf. *sgyu* "deceit".

111. M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00131 (paper fragment, fol. no. 21 in vol.; c. 15 × 6 cm.; ll. 5 of clear *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . tshuṅs . tshes . ñi . śu . la | chab . rgyud . ched . poḫi . so . pa . bthus . te | dgun . sla . . . [2] . . daṅ . | Stag . Klu . bžer . daṅ . | blon . Mtsho . bzaṅ . gis . | so . bskos . nas . | m . . . [3] . . gs . chig . daṅ . | rna . dkog . ñul . tshugs . bži . ni . so . byan . gi . . . [4] . . *Mtsho* . bzaṅ . Śiṅ . śan . du . mchis . nas . | rna . s-o . . . [5] . . śaṅ . Yol . ba . ri . . .

[1] ". . . on the 20th day of the last . . . . the soldiers of the great government having been called up, in the winter month . . . [2] . . . and Stag Klu-bžer and Councillor Mtsho-bzaṅ having made the levy of soldiers . . . [3] . . . one *company* and of secret camel spies four companies. Of the soldier missive . . . [4] . . . Mtsho-bzaṅ having come to Śiṅ-śan, the camel . . . [5] . . . *Ḫbu*-śaṅ, the hill Yol-ba."

Notes

l. 4. *so-byaṅ*: See *supra*, p. 84, and *infra*, p. 292.

l. 5. . . *śan-Yol-ba-ri*: This is, no doubt, *Ḫbu-śaṅ*, on which see *supra*, pp. 269–70.

We have the impression that the Yol-ba hill and Ḥbu-śaṅ belong to the hills of which Śiṅ-śan is the most easterly part, abutting on the Khotan river.

(*jj*) *Zugs-ṅam.*

On this place see *supra*, pp. 86, 248.

VI. Places or States adjacent to, or connected with, the Khotan Region

(*a*) *Bru-ža.*

Assuming that it was proved in *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 258–9, that the name *Bru-ža* was originally attached to a part of the Khotan territory, it may still be a question what the term denoted in later times. In the Tibetan chronicle we have the following notices :—

112. *Chronicle, ll.* 223–4 ; *year* 66 (Ox) = A.D. 737 :
blon . Skyes . bzaṅ . Ldoṅ . tsab . gyis | Bru . ža . yul . tu . draṅs | dgun . pho . bran . Brag . mar . na . bžugs . te | Bru . žaḥi . rgyal : po : phab . ste . phyag . ḥtshald |

"Councillor Skyes-bzan Ldon-tsab having marched into the Bru-ža country, in the winter, when (the Tibetan king) was residing in the palace at Brag-mar, the Bru-ža king was reduced and sent homage."

113. *Chronicle, ll.* 230–1 ; *year* 69 (Dragon) = A.D. 740 :
Btsan . po . chen . po : po . bran | dbyard . Mtshar . bu : snaḥi . Nan . mo : glin . na . bžugste | je . ba : Khri . ma . lod . Bru . ža . rje . la . bag . mar . btan |

"The Btsan-po being resident in his palace in Ṅaṅ-mo-gliṅ of Mtshar-bu-sna during the summer, the princess (*je-ba* ?) Khri-ma-lod was sent to be wife to the Bru-ža king."

The facts made known from Chinese sources by Chavannes (*Documents*, pp. 149 sqq.), and summarized in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 6–7, *especially the marriage with a Tibetan princess*, make it plain that the above quotations relate to "Little P'olü" or Gilgit. The slight difference, if any, in date may

be explained on another occasion. But this circumstance does not in the least invalidate the definite evidence of the Khotan chronicle attributing the name *Bru-so-lo-ña* (= Bru-*žal) to a part (at least) of the* Khotan *territory, namely that in which were Mdo-lo and Me-skar. In that district* is Polu, through which passes one route to the great north-western Tibetan plain, the Byaṅ-thaṅ; and the name reminds us of the Chinese *P'olü* and the *Paloyo,* which Sir Aurel Stein reports as applied by the Dards of Gilgit to the people of Baltistan. This may be remembered in support of the other indications previously (*Asia Major*, pp. 25, 270; *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 73) cited in favour of some early ethnic connection between populations of Western Tibet and of Khotan.

(*b*) Gliṅ-riṅs ("Long Meadow"), Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal ("Long-Meadow Wood"), Gliṅ-riṅs-smug-po-tshal ("Long-Meadow-Bamboo (Reed? Cane?) Wood").

A reference to a Gliṅ-riṅs has been quoted *supra* (p. 84). Such a name might occur anywhere in Tibetan territory; but the additional terms *tshal* "wood" and *smug-po-tshal* "Bamboo (*or* Reed *or* Cane) Wood" justify us in identifying the place so named with the Gliṅ-riṅs-tshal mentioned previously (*JRAS*. 1927, p. 816), as noticed in the Tibetan chronicle (ll. 59, 101) and in a document from Mīrān. It belonged to the district of Skyi, which must have been a region of northern Tibet communicating with Mīrān and, as we see, also with Khotan. In spite of its not belonging to the latter country the number of references to it, suggesting that it was a centre for relations with Khotan (*via* Cer-cen or Polu?), no doubt justify a citation of some or most of them here.

114. M. Tāgh. *c*, ii, 0041 (wood; c. 17 × 3 cm.; complete; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] ༄ | | Stag . btsan . daṅ . Mdo . btsan . . .

[A 2] [*Gyu*] l . st[ag . sog]s . baḫ . la : | . . .

[A 3] 1 . bah̠ . phyogs . su . [th]ugs . [bde] . . .
༄ | |

[B 1] yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . żiṅ . mchis . Gliṅ . [*riṅs*]. [B 2] gi . Li . la . nas . bre . gan . skur . h̠am . ma . skur. [B 3] | Stag . rtsan . gi . Ma[n] . żu . stagi . sbul . *sbur* . tsir . s . . .

" Petition of . . . to Stag-btsan and Mdo-btsan, [*Gyu*]l-stag and the rest. [*Then after the usual compliments.*] To the Khotanīs of Gliṅ-riṅs has a full *bre* of barley been sent or not ? Offering of Man-żu Stag of Stag-rtsan [regiment]. . . ."

Notes

l. A 3. *phyogs-su* : This phrase, which recurs, means " on [your] side ", " on [your] part ".

l. B 3. *sbur-tsir* : " chaff and millet " ?

115. M. Tāgh. 006 (wood ; c. 11 × 2 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at left ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Gliṅ . rins . smug | [2] po . tshal.

Similar are M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 0045 (notches *recto*) and 0017 (8 notches or lines *recto*) ; also 0016, which, however, omits *tshal.*

116. M. Tāgh. 0151 (wood ; c. 15·5 × 1 cm. ; complete l. 1 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

༄ | | Glın . riṅsu . gśen . H̠phan . legs . la.

" In Gliṅ-riṅs to the *gśen* H̠phan-legs."

Gśen, as a personal or official designation, occurs also in M. Tāgh. 0266 and *a*, iii, 0026.

117. M. Tāgh. *a*, iii, 0013 (wood ; c. 21 × 3 cm. ; complete ; hole for string at right ; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | | Gliṅ . riṅs . smug . po . tshal . na . Bod . gñis . Li . gñis . la | Bzaṅ . H̠o[rd . gyi . sde] [2] Mñan . Ji . hu . tshugs . phon | Lan . myi . h̠i . sde . Dbyild . [Chas] . legs . h̠og | . -g

"In Gliṅ-riṅs-smug-po-tshal two Tibetans, two Khotanīs, namely, Mñaṅ Ji-hu, of the Bzaṅ-Ḫor regiment, sergeaunt, Dbyild Chas-legs, of the Laṅ-myi regiment, corporal, . . ."

Notes

The two regiments, Bzaṅ-Ḫor and Laṅ-myi, are mentioned elsewhere; they will be noted again subsequently.

l. 2. *tshugs-phon* and *ḫog-phon*: See *supra*, p. 53.

(c) *G-yar-skyaṅ.*

The *G-yar-skyaṅ* regiment is mentioned on p. 53 *supra*, and in M. Tāgh. 0280 (*Innermost Asia*, p. 1085) we have a *Yar-skyeṅ* regiment and in 0544 one named *Yar-skyan.* The three are, no doubt, identical and designate a Tibetan force raised in, or serving in, Yarkand.

(d) *Kha-ga-pan.*

The single document being addressed to a *khri* "throne" or "dīvān", the place named will have been an independent, or quasi-independent, state. The only state that can come into question is that which in old writings, Kharoṣṭhī, Chinese, Tibetan, and Buddhist Sanskrit, is cited as Cugapan, Cugopa, Cakoka, Che-chü-chia, Chu-chü-po, Chu-chü-pan, Bcu-gon-pan, and the inhabitants of which are by the Chinese designated *Tzu-ho* (see Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, pp 89–93, 582; M. Sylvain Lévi in *BEFE-O*, v, pp. 255–6, 263, 267; notes in *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vi, pp. 184–5; *Festgabe Jacobi*, p. 47, and the sources cited in those connections). The syllable *pam*, which probably means "road", recurs in the old name (*Kilpam* or *Gilpam*) of Kilian, lying more or less in the same region west of Khotan. The place having been shown by Sir A. Stein to be identical with the modern Karghalik, it seems likely that in the name *Kha-ga-pan* we have in fact the oldest form of that designation, which may have resulted merely from an addition of the Turkish suffix *lik* to the *Kha-ga* apparently seen in the document. As

regards the difference between *Kha-ga* and *Kargha* (if the latter spelling is fully authorized), neither the *r* (see the remarks in *Asia Major*, ii, p. 262) nor the variation of the aspirates need trouble us in our documents.

It seems quite possible that another form of the name *Cu-gon-pan* is recorded in the Tibetan chronicle, which relates (l. 72) that in the year 26 (Bird) = A.D. 697

Ce . dog . pan . gyi . p[h]o . ña . phyag . ẖtsald |

" An envoy of Ce-dog-pan did homage."

The date is not unsuitable, and the name needs only a transference of a vowel mark in order to become *Ce-dgo-pan*, which would be a fair approximation for the Tibetans in their early acquaintance with Karghalik. Also, if not Karghalik, what country is denoted ? In a Mīrān document (a paper fragment M.I. vii, 83*a*) the form *Cu-chu-paṃ* seems to occur, unfortunately without further information.

118. M. Tāgh. *b*, i, 00104 (paper, fol. no. 39 in vol., fragmentary at right and at bottom; c. 25·5 × 15 cm.; ll. 11 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ༄ | : | Kha . ga . pan . khri . la | | Rmaṅ . rogs . gyi . mchid . g . . . [2] . m[chi]d . kyis . rmas . na . thugs . bde . žes . thos . | te . glo . ba . rab . tu . dgaẖ . žin . mchis | | g . . . [3] baẖi . slad . nas . | | naẖ . nin . kha . chag . gis . kha . phyar| bth[*oste*] | Śe . ẖo . [ẖ (?) d]as . zur . nas | bdag . [gi] . . . [4] dbon . ma . gchig . bgyis | | Gñag . yul . du . yaṅ . tsha . bo . ẖi . tshe (?) | lo . . daṅ . lo . gro . yu . gi . . . [5] go . skyes . gza . bran . gñi*s* | khyim . puṅ . du : nog . paẖi : srin . ba . daṅ . . . rta . bab . paẖ . . . [6] myi . blas . bab . ste | las . ẖdi . rnams . | dan . ẖdom | ste . mchi . . m . . . . śad . mar . . . [7] pa . dan . bgyis . pa | daṅ . | jo . mo . pas . žal . mch[u]s . rgal . *s*te | dmar . sraṅ . gsu*m* . . . [8] paṅs . kyi . slad . nas | bdag . la : žal . mchu . chig . . . mchis| | rta . seru . ẖi . slad . nas . . . [9] ris . chibs . mchis . pa . skad . bgyis . nas . | deẖi . slad . nas . kyaṅ . bdag . chag : nor . ẖjald | gže . ni . m . . . [10] su . žaṅ . |

Rgyal . bżre [1] . gi . ḫbaṅs | Me . nu . Ña . gzigs . kyis | | gla . żo . bdun . chags . paḫ . Kha . ga . daṅ . chu . . . [11] gi . rgya . byuṅ . nas | Dmu . mur . du . bsgugs . nas | żo . bdun . las | bcu . bżir . bsgyurd . nas | phrog[s] . . .

" To the Kha-ga-pan dīvān : letter-*petition* of Rmaṅ-rogs—[*then after the usual compliments.*] Last year having heard of slanders by abusive persons, I retired to Śe-ḫo. Then in my . . . a grand-daughter was born. Also in the Gñag country it was the . . . birthday of my grandson and presents of . . . pieces of satin with unavoidable detainment in the families of the two wives, and . . . . a horse fell . . . man fell off. Preoccupied by these affairs I made . . . and, the lady having made a complaint against me, I lost three *sraṅ* of copper. Then a . . . complaint was made against me: it was stated that after the rotten (*seru*) horse there had come a riding horse. So then again I paid money. The year before last in . . . a servant of Uncle (*żan*) Rgyal-bżer, Ña-zigs of Me-nu, whose wages were agreed at seven *żo*, after the Kha-ga and . . . . , waited in Dmu-mu, and from seven *żo* it become fourteen. Seizing . . ."

Notes

l. 1. *Rmaṅ-rogs* : As suggested above (p. 73), this is one of the cases where a doubt exists as to whether we are dealing with a proper name or a professional designation. *Rman-rogs* means, no doubt, a " horse-attendant ", and the drawing of horses published by Sir Aurel Stein in *Innermost Asia*, plate vii, has a Tibetan dedication by a person so named. Hence the likelihood is that in this document also, which relates to such a person, the phrase denotes his occupation. It occurs also in M.I. 0054 : in M.T. *a*, ii, 0097, *rta-rogs*.

l. 3. *Śe-ḫo : ? = Si-ho*, Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 215.

l. 4. *Gñag* : This also has not been traced, since we can hardly think of Gñag " a place in Tibet ".

lo-gro : This may = *gro-lo-ma* " a kind of satin ".

[1] Compendious for *bżer*.

l. 5. *[s]go-skyes* : A special present.

l. 7. *žal-mchu* : See *supra*, p. 70.

l. 8. *seru* : This seems to be = *ser-ru* "rotten". It is used of "sheep" in M. Tāgh. *a*, iv, 00128.

l. 10. *Me-nu* : A place-name ; see *supra*, p. 272.
Kha-ga : Apparently = people of Kha-ga-pan.

l. 11. *Dmu-mu* : Noted *supra*, p. 267.

(*e*) *Sna-nam.*

Mentioned p. 281 *supra*.

Sna-nam is the ordinary Tibetan name for Samarkand, and there seems no objection to its being mentioned in a document belonging to a time when the Tibetans were co-operating with the Arabs and had during over a century been in relations with the Turks. The person in question has a good Tibetan name, *Zla-bžer*, so that he would have to be a Tibetan belonging to Samarkand ; and the occurrence of the phrase *sna-rnam* (p. 254 *supra*) in another sense suggests that the surname *Sna-nam* is without geographical reference.

(*f*) *Su-lig* (= Kashgar).

This well-known, ancient, designation of Kashgar occurs in the Tibetan accounts of Khotan (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 52 ; *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee . . . Jubilee Volume*, iii, pp. 38, 45, 49) and probably also in the Kharoṣṭhī document No. 661.

119. M. Tāgh. *c*, 0028 (paper, fol. no. 51 in vol. ; c. 9·5 × 21 cm. ; ll. 7 *recto* + 7 *verso* (a different hand) of ordinary *dbu-can* script ; *recto* faint).

A [1] . . . Bzu . ru . ḫi . mchid . gsol . baḫ | . . .
[2] . . . braṅ | yaṅ . Śu . lig . nas | dgu[n . sl] . . .
[3] . . . po . du . Bu . lod . Stoṅ . chuṅ . Koṅ . sle[*b*] . . .
[4] . . . hb-i- . se (mo ?) . ña . tsam . na . Ḫu . te . du . pyin . . .
[5] . . . [*ni* . *ma*] . ku-s . Ḫpan . le[gs] . . .
[6] . . . rta . po . la . s[*la*]d . du . yaṅ . na . ni . m . . .
[7] . . . [t]ab . ste . Legs . tsan . la . bsku . ba . lagso.

B [1] ༄ | . | jo : cho : Stag : bẑre[1] : l . . .
[2] ma : la | so : rims . kyaṅ . chu . . .
[3] de : slan : chad : kyaṅ : so : byaṅ . chu . ñu (?) . . .
[4] bdagi : so : skal : ḫ[b]ab . pha . . .
[5] de : bẑin : gẑag : phan . gslo[2] : | so . . .
[6] na . yaṅ . zor . ba . bdagi : byeḫu : yog . . .
[7] chig | |

These two separate letters are too fragmentary for translation, though most of the words and phrases are familiar and have been noted above (e.g. *so-byan, so-rims = so-res*). The first, a letter from a person named Bzu-ru, speaks of going from Śu(Su)-lig (= Kashgar) and arriving at Ḫu-te (= Khotan).

VII. Personal Names of Khotanī People

Most of the personal names occurring in the documents are either Tibetan or names of persons belonging to quasi-Tibetan peoples (*Sum-pa, Ḫa-ẑa,* and so forth) of the Tibeto-Chinese regions and in Tibetan service. The provenance of the documents, which were nearly all excavated in or near the Tibetan fort at Mazār-Tāgh, accounts sufficiently for this fact. That the Tibetans had not displaced the native Khotan rulers, but were content to hold the military control of the country, is evident from the above quoted references to the *Li-rje,* or Khotan king. The matter of the documents is also largely military.

Naturally, however, there was multifarious intercourse with the native Khotanīs, and names of such persons were sure to occur. Since the Tibetan names are easily recognizable, more especially in the light of the experience gathered from Mīrān and elsewhere, the non-Tibetan names might with a fair probability have been discriminated as belonging to Khotanī people. But the writers of the documents have placed us in a still more favourable position. The discrimination between Tibetan and Khotanī was in their curcumstances

[1] Compendious for *bẑer.*
[2] Compendious for *gsol.*

naturally an explicit one; and in mentioning a Khotanī person they usually show his nationality by prefixing the word *Li* "Khotan" or "Khotanī". The following names are in that way guaranteed as Khotanī :—

Bat-nag (*a*, iv, 00121).
Bu(Cu)-de (0513).
Bu-god (*a*, iii, 0062).
Bu-ḫñog-dag (*b*, i, 0038).
Bun-dar-ma (*b*, i, 0048).
Bu-ñe (ño ? ñi ?)-dag (Domoko 0168).
Bu-ñon (*a*, ii, 0096).
Byi — (*a*, i, 0036).
Byi-de (0184 ; *a*, i, 0036 ; *a*, vi, 0063).
Cam-po-la (*b*, ii, 0096).
Ceḫu-ḫdo (*b*, i, 0095).
Chu — (*a*, i, 0036).
Cu(Bu)-de (0513).
De-de (*b*, ii, 0054).
Gi-chog (*a*, iv, 0074).
Gos-de (*a*, iii, 0012).
Gu-dag (*a*, ii, 0096 ; *a*, iii, 0074).
Gu-de (0503).
Gu-ḫdag (H. 2).
Gu-jo (dze ?) (*b*, i, 0048).
Ḫdzas (*a*, iii, 001).
Hi — (*a*, iv, 0010).
Hir-bod (*a*, iii, 0012).
Ho(Rho ?)-že (śe ?) (*a*, ii, 0096).
'I-ḫduḫ (*a*, ii, 0018).
'In-dad (*a*, vi, 0057).
Khrom-śe-dad (*b*, i, 0048).
Khu-le (*a*, iii, 0074).
Ko-ḫag (ḫeg ?) (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ko-śe (*a*, ii, 0096).
Ku-chi-śi (*b*, i, 0090).
Ku-žu (*a*, i, 0036).

Meg(Rmag ?)-sur (*a*, ii, 0096).
Nob-žo (*a*, v, 005).
Phu-sgra (*a*, i, 0036).
Phu(Pu)-de (0492 ; *b*, ii, 0054).
Pu-god (*a*, iii, 0043).
Rdz — (*c*, ii, 0011).
Śa — (*a*, iv, 0074).
Sa-bdad (*c*, i, 0050).
Sam-rba (*b*, i, 0048).
Saṅ (0586).
Saṅ-ga(e ?) (0492).
Saṅ-ge (0503).
San-ge-sur (*a*, iv, 0081).
Śa-rag (*b*, i, 0062).
Sar-dad (*b*, i, 0051).
Sar-rṅoṅ (*b*, i, 0070).
Sar-žon (*a*, ii, 0096).
Sen-ge-lag (0336).
Sen-ḫdo (*c*, iv, 0021).
Śin-de (*b*, ii, 0054).
Śi-nir (*a*, i, 0036)
Śir-dad (*b*, ii, 0017 ; *c*, ii, 0017).
Śir-de (*a*, iii, 001 ; *a*, iii, 0012 ; *b*, i, 0048).
Śir-ḫdo (*a*, iii, 0043)
Śi-rhan-za (*b*, 00103).
Śi-ri-bad (*a*, vi, 007).
Su-de (0586).
Sur-de (0287).
'Um-de (*a*, ii, 0096).
'Usag-hven (*c*, i, 0042).
Wi — (0492)
Wi-ne-sa (*a*, iii, 0074 ; cf. -de-sa, 0492).
Ye-ye (*a*, i, 0036).

[The Amacas *Sen-ḫdo, Śi-bir* (*sic*) and *Śir-de* mentioned above (pp. 72–4) and the Amaca *Vi-dad* of the Khotan chronicle (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) have names obviously

belonging to the above types. We may also mention a certain *Na-mo-bud* (M. Tāgh. 0512) and a councillor *Na-mo-sa* (*a*, iii, 0034), clearly Khotanīs. The Amaca *Khe-meg* may possibly have been a Chinaman.]

In this list we observe certain recurrent final, or second, members, such as *de* (12 times), *dag* (4 times), *ḥdo* (3 times), *dad* (5 times), *sur* (twice), *ge* (3 times); and the general system, composition of two monosyllables, is quite clear

It is important to note the correspondences of this nomenclature with evidence derived from other sources. Thus from the Tibetan works I have quoted in the above cited article the names *Phrom-ge-sar* (cf. *Meg-sur* and *Saṅ-ge-sur* above), *Brese Stu-lag* (cf. *Seṅ-ge-lag* and *Śa-rag* above), *Na-mo-ḥbod* (cf *Hir-bod* above), *'A-ba-ya-rdod* (cf. *'In-dad, Khrom-śe-dad, Sa-bdad, Sar-dad, Śir-dad* above). The monosyllabic names *Ḥdzas* and *Saṅ* may be set by the side of the *Ḥjes* and *Ḥji* of the Tibetan works (pp. 252 and 270 of the article) To *Ḥdaḥ-no-ya* and *Za-ro* of the Tibetan works I have as yet no parallel. *Wi-ne-sa* and *Cam-po-la* have many correspondences among the "Names of Places and Persons in Ancient Khotan" discussed in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 48–73, names which in consequence of the new light upon the attribution of the kings mentioned in Kharoṣṭhī documents (see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* . . . . Part III, transcribed and edited by E. J. Rapson and P. S. Noble, pp. 323–5) must now be connected for the most part not with the Khotan kingdom proper, but with the adjacent, and no doubt cognate, people of Shan-shan. The Khotanī names appertain to a date about five centuries later, and, no doubt, to a partly different system.

Again, in a document edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in Hoernle's *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 402–3, we have mention of Khotanī (*Li*) persons with the names *Suḥe-sa Tsadzūgo, Gu-tsag, Sur-dad, Maṅ-bod*, which present obvious analogies or correspondences with those cited above.

It would be unlikely that in so considerable a list of names of natives of Khotan there should be none of foreign origin, more especially when we remember that the Iranian language, which has been designated variously Tokhārī B, Khotanī, and Saka, had been known in Khotan from at least about A.D. 600 (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 271), while an Indian Prākrit and the Chinese had been familiar from a much earlier period, perhaps from the very foundation of the city. The name *Ku-chi-śi* bears a resemblance to *Śer-the-śi* and *Ka-the-śi*, which in the Khotan chronicle (see Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) are given as names of Chinese ministers. Concerning the *'A-ba-ya-rdad* of the same chronicle I formerly suspected that the syllable *rdad* might really represent an Iranian *dāta* " given ", in which case a corresponding suspicion might attach to the occurrences of *dad* in the above list. But clearly an Indian derivation (from Sanskrit *datta*) would be more probable, since the first part of the name, if not local, would be the Sanskrit word *Abhaya*, giving a plausible Sanskrit name *Abhayadatta*: moreover, we have in non-Tibetan documents a number of names in *datti* which necessitate the same conclusion. The same documents show also Sanskritic names of monks, such as *Puñade*, which suggest that the terminal syllable *de* may really be derived from Sanskrit *deva*; but this point may be left for a later determination.

If we add to some of the names a final *-a*, which is likely to have been lost in the course of five centuries, we shall arrive at forms similar to those elicited from the Kharoṣṭhī documents Thus—

*Bu-go-ta (for Bu-god)
*Hir-bo-ta (for Hir-bod)
*Pu-go-ta (for Pu-god)
*Sar-žo-na (for Sar-žon)
*Seṅ-ge-la-ga (for Seṅ-ge-lag)

are of a type amply represented in those documents (see the above cited article). To follow up such a suggestion would, however, be inappropriate in the present connection, where we are concerned almost exclusively with a record of facts.

VIII. The Khotan Language.

The previously (*Asia Major*, vol. ii (1825), pp. 251–71) stated conclusion that the native language of Khotan was a monosyllabic speech of the Tibeto-Burman type was based upon the evidence of names found in the accounts of Khotan (*Li-yul*) contained in four texts preserved in the Tibetan *Bstan-ḥgyur*. We may now point to the further evidence furnished by these new documents of the eighth century A.D., brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Mazār-Tāgh. The nomenclature of places (pp. 61–3) and persons (pp. 293–6) is clearly of the same type as that previously elicited. In the place-names the syllable *ro* (*Bar-ma-ro-ña*, *Byi-ro-ña*, *Ḥden-ro-ña*, *Pan-ro-ña*, *Śi-ro-ña*, *Zvaḷ-ro*, etc.) is probably identical with the *ro* in names from N.E. Tibet (*Cog-ro*, *Ḥgren-ro*, *Myan-ro*, etc), where it is employed to form derivatives from tribal designations · it is, no doubt, equivalent to the Tibetan *ra* "enclosed space" in *Ldum-ra*, *btson-ra*, *khyams-ra*, etc. The syllable *-ti* likewise recurs (p. 70) in analogous use.

The abundance of non-Iranian names in current use implies that the old native language of Khotan was still prevalent. Nevertheless, it is certain from the finds of documents in the actual Khotan region (at Mazār-Tāgh and elsewhere) that in the eighth century at least the "Saka-Khotanī" speech was also employed. In that language we have both Buddhist literary MSS. and legal and other business papers. It may be conjectured that the language was used by the higher classes and the monks in place of the old Indian Prākrit which had prevailed during the earlier centuries. Of its employment for religious publicity we have an interesting example in the inscriptions from Dandān-Uilig figured in plates lviii–ix of Sir A. Stein's *Ancient Khotan*. Beneath the painting of a monk we read (with Dr. Hoernle, op. cit., p. 248) :—

dvī pī sā dāṃ śo [*śā* ?] *ḍā*

Here the word *pīsā* is evidently identical with the *pīsai*, which Professor Konow (Hoernle, *Buddhist Remains*, p. 347) has found in a "Khotanī" *Vajra-cchedikā*, as representing the Sanskrit *guru* (elsewhere also the word can be traced). Thus the painting represents the *guru* Dām-śo-dā, in whose name the syllables *śo-ḍā* (if not *śā-ḍā*) may be connected with the *ṡo-dā* noted above (p. 64). If it still remains questionable whether the *pīsai* may not be derived from the native language of Khotan (cf. *phye-se* in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584), and consequently whether the short inscription may be in Saka-Khotanī, another inscription (D., x, 6, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 300–1) is certainly in that language.

Naturally the Chinese also was employed in Khotan. Witness the documents (from Dandān-Uilig, etc.) published and discussed by Chavannes (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 521 sqq., and *Documents Chinois*, pp. 201 sqq.). There were, perhaps, specially Chinese monasteries, at Mazār-Tāgh or elsewhere. But owing to the peculiarities of Chinese writing the few probably native names or terms occurring in them require a separate examination.

ADDENDA[1]

p. 65, *mkhar-tsho* occurs also in *a*, ii, 0076, and *a*, iii, 0034.

p. 90, *ces-byun-ba* occurs also in M.T. *a*, iv, 00137.

p. 93, *thag-bar* "middle-rope" (?) seems to denote some kind of military person; it recurs in M.T. *a*, iv, 00122, *b*, i, 0075, *c*, iii, 0024.

p. 266, a place *Bon-mkhar* "Bon town", seems to be mentioned in M.T. *b*, ii, 0053.

p. 268, in M.T. *c*, ii, 0087, there is mention of a place named *Gi-lam-thu*.

p. 279, in M.T. *a*, iii, 0062, there is mention of a place *Śan*, and this is supported by the numerous references (M.T. *c*, i, 0025, *c*, ii, 0046, etc., to a "regiment belonging to Śaṅ", *Śaṅ-sde*.

[1] Corrigenda in previous portion of this article pp. 66, ll. 13–14, omit "and showing . . signs"; p. 70, l. 12, read 1019 (*for* 1099), p. 72, l. 29, read *Śi* (*for* Si); p. 80, l. 23, read *Śenā*; p. 91, ll. 16–17, read *Ho-se*.

INDEX:

NAMES OF PLACES, CLANS AND BUILDINGS.

The Legend of Telibinus

By A. H. SAYCE

IN the "Yuzgat" Tablet we read: "and the dirges for Telibinus are finished" (*Telibinuss-a mugauwas qati*). The word I have rendered "dirges" is translated by the Assyrian *tazimtu* and includes the legends which were repeated in the celebration of what may be termed the death and resurrection of the Hittite god Telibinus. Telibinus, "the son of Teli," like Khatebinus "the child of Khate", was one of the deified kings of the primitive Hittites and is accordingly coupled with Zidkhariyas, another early hero, and Khebe the goddess of Kizzuwadna. In Greek mythology he was known as Telephus, King of Mysia. In the treaty of Subbiluliuma with Simassara he is called the god of Turmitta, which is identified by Professor Garstang with Derende.

The legend attached to him seems to have been a compound of those associated with Attys and Adonis. On the one hand it referred to his mutilation, on the other hand it narrated how he had descended to the dark regions of Hades and had subsequently been restored to life. Like the legend of the descent of Istar into Hades it described the sympathetic arrest of all life upon the earth; until the deity returned to the light of day men and cattle alike ceased to generate. In the "Yuzgat" Tablet another legend is combined with that of Telibinus—that of Khakhkhimas "the master of the winds" (GAL-*is Khuwanti*)—who had hidden the Sun-god and therewith the source of life. The supreme god Tessub, who had been kept in ignorance, accordingly interfered (ll. 21–31): "Tessub calls for the Sun-god, (saying:) 'Go and bring the Sun-god.' They go and seek the Sun-god, but find him not. So Tessub says: 'Him truly [they] cannot find, but he has cleansed (?) my generative organs; where has he taken them?' Then he calls Ilbaba: '[Go] and bring the Sun-god.' So Khakhkhimas took Ilbaba, (saying):

'Here you! summon the Guardian-spirit, that he may restore him to life. [Now] he had gone (to) the fields.[1] *So Khakhkhimas took him. [Tessub said]: 'Go, summon Telibinus; he [is] my son; he, the honourable one, is hidden (?); I have ordered him to come, and the corn [let him] take, the hard stone let him quarry' (liwari). So Khakhkhimas took him."*

As Khate-binus contains the name either of the god Khatti or the goddess 'Ati (עתי), written Atu in Harranian names, so Teli in the name of Teli-binus must be the name of a deity. We may compare with it the names found in Cilician and Cappadocian inscriptions of the Greco-Roman period Τιλλί-βορος and Τιλλῆς (son of Ταρκόνδαιος). Tarkhunda-pi, "the Tarkhundian," with the Mitannian suffix *-pi* is found in Assyrian contract tablets.

In *KUB*. xii, No. 60, we have a fragment of another legend relating to Telibinus. Unfortunately it is too much mutilated to yield a consecutive sense Apparently there has been contention between "heaven (and) earth" (*nebis tegan*). Then it is said to Telibinus: "Do you [bring ?] the Sun-god of heaven from the sea" Accordingly "Telibinus goes to the sea: to him [the daughter of the sea ?] was reverent; to him the daughter [of the sea hearkened ?] and gave him the Sun-god. . . . And the sea [took ?] his daughter back from the sea." Then "to the god Tessub the sea called (saying): 'I [give] my daughter to your son Telibinus for a wife; bring

[1] If the text is right this must be the translation But the grammar would be defective, and it is therefore possible that we should read TUR-*as* instead of *i-as*, "he (i e. the *sedu* or Guardian-spirit) is a son of the field." Perhaps also *ias* in l. 28 belongs to the verb *iya* "to make" rather than *ia-* "to go", the sense being that the *sedu* "had made the fields". The word I have translated "enter" seems to have been borrowed from the Assyrian *terib*; we find it in *KUB*. xiii, 2, 24, *terribbis-gandu* "let them (the oxen) enter" and 1, iv, 19, 2, 19, A-SAG *teribbiyassas* "entrance field". It must be remembered that the Hittites recognized besides "the Sun-god of heaven", "the Sun-god of earth", that is to say the Sun who passes to the dark underworld during the night.

m and give him to me.' So Tessub said to the Supreme goddess (his consort): '[The sea] demands that [his daughter] should come from the sea [and] be given to him; if she is not given [it will be evil].' Thus (replied) the Supreme goddess to Tessub: 'Let her be given to him.' . . He gave him (*or* her) a thousand of everything . . . a thousand oxen and a thousand sheep did he give."

The association of Telibinus is interesting as the Greek myth of Telephus related that after his birth he had been sent adrift with his mother across the sea. It may be noted that Telibinus is here made the son of Tessub, who would thus take the place of Herakles in the Greek story.

KUB. xvii, p. 11, No. 10

The earlier portion of Col. I is lost.

1. Telibinus . . . .
2. and not the land of Kuris[ta] . . . .
3. {with the left [hand] / on the left side} he made live, {with the left [hand] . . / on the left (he) . . . .}
4. [he departed].

---

5. The doors (?) of the hut he took, the roof of the house [he removed];
6. on the hearth the fire-brands were choked, [the altars]
7. of the gods were choked; in the fold the sheep and in the ox-stall
8. the oxen were crowded together, so the sheep rejected its ewe,
9. and the ox rejected its cow.

---

10. Telibinus speeded away; the corn, the gift of Tessub,
11. womenfolk (and) menfolk (which) he had brought in abundance, the field
12. (and) the grass, the blight-demon (came) to them and Telibinus went; to the blight-demon
13. he yielded it; over it to the stall he hurried; then

14. the wheat-ear ripened not; so the wives of the citizens did not
15. generate, and those who generated did not bear children.

---

16. The mountains became bare; the trees withered; the horse-droves
17. disappeared; the pastures were bare; the springs dried up, and on the land
18. there was famine. Men and gods were threatened with annihilation (*lit.* doomed to perish).
19. Then the great Sun-god celebrated a festival. So he summoned the 1,000 gods,
20. they were not sated. They ate, they drank, but were not satisfied.

---

21. Then Tessub missed his son Telibinus, for Telibinus
22. was not there. He sought for him, bringing all his resources;
23. the great gods, the little gods made search for Telibinus. The Sun-god
24. sent the raven (?) as scout (saying): "Go, the high
25. mountains explore!

---

26. Search the deep (?) valleys; search every living creature wherever it be."
27. The raven went; he found him not; so back to the Sun-god
28. he brought the report: "I have not been able to find him, Telibinus
29. the honourable god. Tessub to Nin-tud said: "Now we must act;
30. with annihilation are we threatened." The Great Goddess said to Tessub: "Do something,
31. O [Tes]sub. So go and seek Telibinus yourself!"

---

32. [Then] Tessub undertook the search; in his city the gate
33. [was ruined]; he was powerless to rebuild (it); its lock and its bolt [were broken] in two.
34. Tessub . . . Then in silence (?) he sat there; Nin-tud
35. [again] sends [to him]: "Go and seek Telibinus yourself!"

---

36. . . . . . . So the gods, great and little, made search for him. But him
37. [Telibinus they found not.] . . . They go [to] him to explore.
38. . . . . takhimemuit (?) was gardening. Now he was a gardener.
39. So he *in turn assists (them).*

Col II

. . . .

3. So to thee Telibinus .
4. the source of the oil was gushing (?) . .
5. . . ; then plenty . .
6. (Of) the gate he cut . . .
7. the essence of the oil the bursting [seed penetrated];
8. a thick mass again [it became ?].

---

9. Behold, the water in the barrel [is here] . . .
10. Now of Telibinus do you yourself [demand the water];
11. Then to the king in abundance [give it].

---

12. Behold, the milk is here . . .
13. [Full] of milk let it be; behold
14. Let them pour it out in a stream.

---

15. Behold, the *samamma*-tree is here . . . .
16. let it become visible; behold the fig [is here];

17. *let it be cut (?) again, and [the limb ?] of Te[libinus]*
18. let them also mutilate.

---

19. From the olive, too, again from (its) heart its oil, [from the vine]
20. the wine from (its) heart shall be taken, and do you for Telibinus . . .
21. a keeping back (?) with oil from (its) heart in abundance effect.

---

22. Behold, the *lîti*-tree is here; [the limbs] of Telibinus
23. let them anoint; the essence of (its) milk with himself shall hereafter be united;
24. as for thyself, let the word of the citizens be in unison
25. "Be clean!" Let Telibinus himself be clean! The fire
26. let them light; let the milk increase again; and let the oxen of Telibinus
27. be castrated that they may multiply as before.

---

28. Behold, with good oil your (*sic*) paths of Telibinus . . .
29. I bespatter: with good oil Telibinus has bespattered them
30. and traversed the road The *sâkhis*-tree and the *khab-burnyas*-tree in turn
31. shall grow up (for the gardener); they shall burst forth of themselves, established again
32. since that Telibinus is established as before.

---

33. Telibinus comes to announce (it); at his coming from the clouds
34. there is storm; below the black earth there is battle;
35. the god Kamrusipas sees the twain; then the road-bird flies;
36. there is rending in two, and he sees him (i.e. Telibinus).

Col. III

1. A crowd follows him; in wrath
2. it follows [him]; the pursuit it follows.

---

3. Kamrusipas behind the gods says: "Go, . . .
4. be [one] of the gods! Behold, to Khapantalis the Sun-god his sheep has de[livered].
5. Now 12 of the sheep do you (pl.) cut up. But the [oxen] of Telibinus . . . .
6. I will manage and take a wing with a thousand eyes: of the slaughtered
7. lambs of Kamrusipas I am master.

---

8. For Telibinus one-half I have caused to be burnt away,
9. and one half I burn; then of Telibinus
10. his generative organs, his evil ones, I take; his . . .
11. I take; his followers I take; his wrath
12. I take; his omens I take; the pursuit I undertake."

---

13. Telibinus was wroth; himself he cuts;
14. the bursting buds were crammed together; the buds which were crammed together
15. they burned afterwards, and the followers of Telibinus . . .
16. in wrath the search for the sinner as before [renewed ??] . . .
17. afterwards the trackers (??) carried it not to the field . . .
18. they made it into seed, but made it not into bread; [to]
19. the house of stone records they came and the followers of Telibinus
20. the search for the sinner continued to track (?).

---

21. Telibinus was wroth; himself he c[uts];
22. lighted was the fire; these the fire afterwards [consumed];

23. and the crowd in wrath the search [renewed] as before.

---

24. Telibinus leaves the crowd; his wrath [he abandoned];
25. the search [for the sinner] he abandoned; afterwards the . tree . .
26. he did not . . .; but the [followers] of Telibinus
27. the search [for the sinner] did not abandon.

---

28. Then the gods under the *kharikisnas*-tree assembled;
29. now the *kharikisnas* [was] of double length;
30. so all the gods sat (there), the [great and the little] gods,
31. the supreme gods of destruction, the corn-god, the god of growth . . ,
32. Telibinus, Inaras, Khapantilis . . .
33. and the gods [sat] down for long years . .
34 "I have finished [with him], I have purified him . "

Col. IV

1. For him the red earth lives; this then you say: "Away."
2. . . For him the red image lives; and so Telibinus's
3. wrathful company thou tellest to search for the sinner.

---

4. Tessub has come as herald; him the man of Tessub
5. accompanies; the (milk-)bowl too has come; the spoon (?) accompanies it.
6. O mother (?) mine, let those of the citizens who have spoken
7 run after the followers of Telibinus in their search.

8, 9. Let them go; let the followers of Telibinus leave the domain (and) the search for the sinner in anger; the yoking-ground (??) before (it)

10, 11. let them abandon; the door (?) let them leave; the trough (?) of the portico before let them leave; the gate let them leave; the stables let them leave;

12. the . . of the king let them leave; to the growing field, garden and wood
13. they go not; (under) the earth let them traverse the road.

---

14. The porter opened the 7 doors; back he drew for them the 7 bolt[s].
15. Under the black earth stood a copper barrel: "The *istabbullis* is mine;
16. the straggling (?) *sedu*-bull is mine"; the god BAR verily goes there; then
17. he comes not up again; the god Dadas he seizes
18. and the wrathful host of Telibinus
19. they take on its search for the sinner; back they come not again.

---

20. Telibinus comes back to the court (*parnassa*); his land he surveyed,
21. the frame of the door (?) remained; the roof of the house remained;
22. the temple of the gods was standing; the fuel of the hearth remained;
23. in the fold the sheep remained there; in the ox-stall the oxen
24. remained there So the mother carried her child; the sheep carried its lamb;
25. the ox carried its calf, and Telibinus [restored] the king and queen; them
26. to life and strength (and) future days he appointed.

---

27. So Telibinus appointed the king. In the house of Telibinus
28. stands (his) tree; now from the tree hangs a sheep's fleece; then there
29. he puts an ewe's milk; then there the grain of the god Gir (the god of cattle)

30. (and) wine he places; then there he sets ox (and) sheep;
31. there for long years he sets the birth of children;

---

32. Then there he sets wives, increases their message; then there
33. he sets twofold (?) [births (?)]; then there he sets the grape-god;
34. then there he sets brimming udders, then there

. . . .

Two fragments of the Telibinus-legend were discovered at Boghaz Keui by Chantre and have been published by Professor Scheil (Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, pp. 58–60). They appear to belong to missing portions of the legend.

OBVERSE

1\. . . . . ya-gan i-da(?)-a (?)-lu (?) . . .
. . . my evil (?) . .
2\. . . . . ar ar-kha QA-TAM-MA . . .
. . . away as before . . .

3\. . . . kar-bi-in tar-na kar-di-mi-ya . . .
[Telibinus] left the crowd, in wrath . . .
4\. . . . sa-a-u-wa-ar tar-na GIS . . ZUN . . . .
he left seeking [the sinner]; the . . . trees . . .
5\. [sâu]ar si-ya-an-zi AN Te-li-bi[-nu-us] . . .
he closes the [search]. Telibinus . . .
6\. . . kar-di-mi-ya-az NAM (?)-wa URUD GIS (?) . . .
in anger . . . copper . .
7\. . . . a-bi-e-ni-is-sa-an li-e u[-it ?] .
as before he does not [come ?]

8\. . . du i-da-a-(lu) kar-bi-in kar-di-mi-ya-az . . .
. . . evil the crowd in anger . .
9\. . . . ya-an-ti-ya la-a-in (?) GIS-LI GIS-LI an-da . . .
. . . to the herbage . . .

10\. . . . wa-ya-as-sa-at dag-na-a-as KAS-an pa-it
. . . *the road of the earth he traverses.*

11\. . . . MI dag-ni-i AN BAR-as DUK pal-khi ki-ya . . .
. . . *under* (?) *the black earth the Iron-god places* (?) *the barrel* . . .

12\. . . . . it an-da pa-iz-zi na-at . . . .
. *to* . . *he goes ; this* . . .

13\. . . da-at-ta-an ki (?)-ya (?) . .
. . . . .

REVERSE

1\. . an bi-i-e-[it] . .
. . *he calls* . . . .

2\. . . . ta AN kha-ta-a-na ta-a-ba (?) pal-[khi] . . .
. . . *for the wise god the barrel* . . . .

3\. . . . [na-]an u-ul u-e-mi-it BE EGIR . . .
. *he did not find him ; back again* . . .

4\. . . na-an u-e-mi-ya-nu-[un] . . .
. *I have caused him to be found.*

5\. . . . an bi-i-e-it i-id . .
. *he calls : " Go* . .

6\. . . zi-ik sa-an-kha ma-a-[an] . . .
. . . *do you seek* [*him*] ; *when* .

7\. . . . si-ya a-na as sa . . .
. . . *to* . .

8\. . . ar-kha-a-an as-na an . .
. . *away him* . . . .

NOTES

I, 2. The first character of the geographical name is rather *ku* than *ma*. If it is to be read *ma* we should have Marissa or Maris[sanda] the district adjoining the Halys. Otherwise we must suppose that Kuris[ta] stands for Kurusta the Kyrrhestikê of classical geography in North Syria.

5. *Luttaus* with the determinative of "wood" is plural and means more probably "doors" than "windows" as Friedrich translates it. *Luttiya* occurs in *KUB.* vii, 5, 30, but the passage is mutilated. In Yuz, *Rev.* 25, GIS *luttiya* must be the name of the wood of which a dish was made. For GIS *luttanza* see *KUB.* xii, 4, 24. 5, 19. 14, 10. (Cf. note on *Rev.* iv, 10. Zimmern has shown that *kammaras* is used of a "beehive". Here it appears to signify a domed hut.[1]

6. The syllabaries explain *nesuriya-* by *khanâku* "to choke", Sumerian GU-GID. It is used in the sense of "crowding", "cramming".

10. *Marnin* is the accusative of *marnu* "gift". Yuz., *Rev.* 32. Whether the gift was from or to a god is uncertain. If "from" a god, the corn would be the gift of Tessub.

11. SAL-*khuttis, salkhiyantis* "woman folk", is here spelt out phonetically (*sa-al*), which shows that either *salkhi* was the native Hittite word for "woman", or SAL with a Hittite suffix had been borrowed from Sumerian. At any rate, *mannittis* has been borrowed from the Indo-European *man(w)* (Skt. *manu*, Goth. *manna*).

12. Marmaras seems to have been the Blight-demon; cf. Greek *Μορμώ*.

13. *Ulista*; cf *uliul, KUB.* xx, 5, *b* 11.

16 *Khâter* "they became bare", *khâzta* "were withered", probably have the same root. *Paras* is the equivalent of the ideographic ANSU KUR-RA. See *KUB* ii, 3, 15, 17, where *parastarrassis* is given as the equivalent of (ANSU) KUR-RA-*astarrassis*. Cf Hebrew *parash*, Arabic *faras*, which is probably a loan-word from Asia Minor; cf. Ezek. xvii, 14. *Parasdus* "horse-droves" is for *parastus* For *pârasessir* "they rode away" see Tenner: *Hethitischer Annalentext*, p. 20.

[1] Cf. Zend *kamara* "vault", Lat. *camera* (*camurus*). In the Syrian geographical list of Thothmes III, Kamru (No. 261) has the determinative of "house". The word forms the first element in the name of the Hittite hero Kamru-sipas.

20. *Ne* is the 3rd pers. pron. pl.

21. *Kabbueit* " missed " from *kabbis* " small ", " inferior " (= EGIR-*is*); *kabbui* " make small " (*KUB*. vii, 14, 4), *kabbûizzi* " is wanting " (*KUB*. vii, 15, *b* 9). The verb seems to be used both transitively and intransitively. (Cf. note below on IV, 20.)

24. Literally " the road-bird ". *Sâu-war*, *sakh-*, is a simpler form of *sankh-* " to seek ", as has been pointed out by Götze. Cf. Goth. *sokjan*.

26. *Khuwan-khuessar kuwâliu* " a living creature wherever it may be ".

29. *Nakkis* is given as the equivalent of the Sumerian DUGUD " heavy ", hence " honourable " and in a depreciatory sense " hard " or " difficult ".

30. Read [*k*]*istantit*. *Kharkueni* literally " we are destroyed " " The Supreme goddess " is here identified with Nin-tud " mistress of generation "; elsewhere she is GUL-*sas* " the goddess of destruction ".

33. The signification " powerless " seems imposed upon *tarkhuzzi* by the context. Otherwise the root *tarakh-* has the sense of " being able " to do a thing.

34. I have not met with the word *kakhue*(*it*) elsewhere.

38. *Amiyanta* and *amiyan-kha* from *amiya* " a garden "; *amiyantus* " gardeners " was already known from the Legal Code. The form *amiyan-kha* recurs in the 1st pers in *tabar-kha* " I was lord " and with a further suffix in *es-kha-t* " I sat ".

II, 4 Read *kûkusta*.

7. *Zûwa* is given as the Assyrian equivalent of *sanezzis* which is used of " spittle " in *KUB*. xiii, 20, 67, 71. The verb *sane-*, *sani-* signifies to " blow up " fire.

8 For *nesuriyanza* see note on I, 6.

12. *Galaktar* " milk " is the Greek *γάλα*, Lat. *lac*, which have no Indo-European etymology.

13. *Kara-z* seems to signify " in a stream ", but I have not found the word elsewhere. With *khulêid*[*du*] compare the river names Khulaya and Khulanis.

16. GIS-MA is "fig", but the gunated form of MA also has the Assyrian gloss *tittê* attached to it in the Liverpool Proto-Hittite fragment iii, 4 (*Annals of Archæology*, iii, 3, pl. xxvii). Unfortunately the tablet is broken immediately after MA

17, 18. *Miliddu* and *milites* seem to be related to *miliskus* "an eunuch".

21. *Istantawar* is rendered by the Ass. *ukhkhuru* "hold back". We find *istantait* "drives back" (*KT*. iv, 78, 67). The causative is *istanta-nu-nun* (*KUB* xxii, 44, *c* 6) and *istantanusteni* "you keep back" (*KUB*. xiii, 19, 37).

26. For *kuliddu* see *KUB*. xxi, 46 *kulıskinuttin* "make bright", "glorify". *Kûlas* is used of the "brilliance" of gold (*KUB*. xii, 2, 4), *kûli* "glow" (*KUB*. xii, 15, 27).

30. Forrer has shown that *khanti*(*s*) means " next in turn".

31. *Lazziatta* is rendered by the Ass. *damqi* in the sense of a recovery from illness Perhaps the best translation of *lazzais* would be "flourish (again)".

33. Read *wantaz* "from the cloud".

36. Read *du*-[*u*]-*wa-ar-nu-ut* "cause to be double". The last word is *a-u*-[*us-ta*].

III, 3. Kamru-sipas was another of the legendary heroes or deified kings of the early Hittites. A fragment of a legend attached to him is given in *KUB* xvii, No. 8. It is too mutilated to be capable of translation, but apparently the hero was translated to heaven and given possession not only of the corn which grew on the earth but also of the various diseases and blights which afflict man and injure the crops. *Khapantilis* also appears elsewhere in company with *Kamru-sipas*. The name is probably a derivative from *Khapâtis* "a servant". There was also a city Khabantalliya (*KUB*. ii, 1, 4)

6. *Betar* "wing" is to be distinguished from *bissis* "bird". The 1,000 eyes correspond with "the 1,000 gods". Cf. the Greek myth of Argos with his 100 eyes. Khapantilis would have been the watchman of Kamru-sipas as Argos was of Hêra.

8, 9. I do not know what the difference is between "burn away" and "burn". The translations are literal.

17. I have not met with the word *tepsus* elsewhere; in l 20 it is written *tepsauês*.

22 *Uriwaran* "kindled" is a derivative from *uar-*, *uurri-* "burn".

25. Dr Forrer identifies the character which follows GIS with *pisan* If he is right the word would mean "coffer" or "conduit" and not be the name of a tree

26 The signification of the verb *armêzzi* is unknown to me. In *KUB* xv, 39, 45–6, we have · *nusmas* KHAR-SAK-MES *biran taksalaniyantaru* . *mas biran armizziyantaru* "on the mountains they will gather together, in [the valleys ?] they will assemble (?)". Cf Lat *armentum* which has no Indo-European etymology. NÀ *armizzi* "the diamond" (*KUB*. xx, 4, 19) has no connection with the verb.

28 The tree is called *kharikis* in *KUB* xii, 33, 5, where three of them are said to be planted in a vineyard Cf *kharkis* "white"

31. GUL-*ses* here may signify "generation" rather than destruction, since "the Supreme goddess" was Nin-tud. Götze would render it "protecting". AN *Miya*[*tar*] "the god of growth" or "increase".

IV, 1 The "red earth" in contradistinction to the "black earth" of the subterranean world denotes the fertile soil in which the crops flourish. The "image" (*esri*) must refer to some lost passage in the legend in which there would have been an account of the construction of images of Telibinus like those of Adonis in Phœnicia.

5 "Spoon" is a mere conjecture; I have not found GIS *tîpas* elsewhere

6 Perhaps [*um-*]*ma* Or "who have been mentioned"?

9. *Barnanza* "domain" from *barnas* or *parnas* "a court-yard", like *luttanza* from *luttais* The first character is bar, not *pap*. *Aṇnasnanza* is from *annasnas* which may be related to ŜU *annanus* "bridle", "reins", *annanukhan* "muzzled".

10. *Luttanza* cannot signify "window-place" here.

11, 12. *Khilas* generally signifies a "portico" or "guard-room". Here it would be something attached to the *wawarkhima(n)*. The latter word is found in *BUK*. vii, 36, *b* 2, where we read (ll 1–7): II *sênus ser epzi makhan-ma-ssi-sa-n wawarkiman ser epzi makhanda-ma-ssi-sa-n* GUD-ZUN *ser epzi* EGIR-SU-*ma issanan* EGIR-SU-*ma summan-zanan* EGIR-SU-*ma betar dâi nat-gan ser arkha wakhnuzi khukkuis-ma khukkiskizzi nat abbiza karu iyan*; "he selects 2 bones (?), after this he selects a trough(?); after this he selects the clay (dung) of the oxen; afterwards he takes a mouth-piece, then a rope and then a feather; then he turns away round to these and croons incantations: all this is done by him early in the morning." For *sênus* see *BUK* vii, 37, 14, 16. The singular is found in *BUK* vii, 3, 21; 7, 22. For *sênas* or *sinas* and *sênês* see *BUK* xvii, 22, 1; 21, 13; 21, 10.

Khilamnas is a derivative from *khilas* and signifies "out-house", more especially "stables". The word was borrowed by the Assyrians in order to denote a colonnade portico of Syrian design.

The lost word at the beginning of l. 12 is perhaps *mat* "country" ("the country of the king")

14. The "porter" of Hades is mentioned in the legend of the descent of Istar into the lower world Read *khattalu[s]* "bolts".

15 *Palkhi* in the Scheil fragment has the determinative of "vessel" and so must denote the "barrel" or "jar" of wine which we find in the Illuyankas legend.

The words which follow are difficult to explain.

16. *Alas* is the *sêdu* or guardian bull of whom we have already heard (iv, 16) GIS *zakkis* is rendered "bolt" with a query by Dr Forrer. In an Omen-tablet (*BUK*. viii, 5, 4) we have: "A worthless vagrant (*tambu[bis]*, Ass. *nu'u*) comes to your country like drift-wood" (*zakkiyas iwar*). In *BUK*. xiii, 1, 25, *zakkês bis[siyandu]* seems to signify "let the

stragglers fly away ". In AN BAR-*as* there is probably a play on AN-BAR " iron ", " the iron-one goes there ". Cf. the Scheil fragment *Rev.* 11.

20. *Kabbuwauwar* " to count ", connected probably with *Kabunu* " acre ", has no connection with another *kappu(e)-*, translated " punish " by Gotze, which has the same origin as *kappis* or *kabbis* (= EGIR-*is*) " inferior ", " younger ", *kabbilallis* " small " (*BUK* xvii, 8, 2), *kappûizzi* " is wanting " (*KUB.* vii, 15, *b* 9), *kappanza* " is small " (said of the moon *KUB* viii, 5, 3) Cf. note above on I, 21

In l. 27 below " appointed " seems a better translation for *kabbuêt* than " surveyed "

27, 28. Literally : " Belonging to Telibinus in the house a tree stood " *Biran* here has its original signification of " house ". Hrozný was right in making it signify " within " and not " before ".

28 ŠU *kursas* is a " fleece ". Perhaps ŠU *kurisnas*, *kuresnas* " napkin " and *kuressar* " loin-cloth " have the same root The " sheep-skin " or " fleece " is an echo of the golden fleece of Greek mythology which hung from a tree in Colchis. Perhaps the " gold " had its origin in the resemblance of the Hittite word *kursas* to the Greek χρυσός

32. I cannot explain the grammatical construction in *mius khalugas.*

33 The substantive with which *tûmantiyas* agrees is lost. *Tûmantiyas* would have been pronounced *tûwantiyas* and hence would be a derivative from *tuwa* " two " like *tûwaz* " twice ". On the other hand, *tûwa* is also " long ago ", whence *tûwalas* " distant " In *KUB* xvii, 31, 11, *bit Tûmantiyatti(s)* is mentioned next to " the temple (*bit karimmi*) of the god Khûwassannas ", and in *KUB* xv, 26, 57, *tûmantiyan* occurs in connection with the gods causing the increase of " boys and girls "

34. *Wallas* " women's breasts ", " udders " My translation of the adjective, which I should read *maunnas* rather than *kunnas*, is conjectural.

By way of an appendix I add a translation of the "Yuzgat" Tablet, I, ll. 38–41: (38) *abûs khalzais* AN IM-*as* *Khakhkhimmi* (39) [*tez*]*zi kissaras-mis-wa* GAL-*ri-ya anda damen*[*kir*] (40) [*tagani* ?]-*ya damenkir takku-wa kûs sa* NIN-MES-*us* SU-ZUN *da*[*asi*] (41) . . IGI-ZUN *mi-ta-wa lê êpsi*; "Tessub called them; to Khakhkhimas he says: 'My hands descend in rain to my lord, and [to the earth ?] they descend in rain If these women's hands you take . . . my (?) eyes do not occupy'" We have an explanation of the passage in *BUK*. xxii, 46, 7–10. There we read: "Accordingly when the god of the city Arusnas marches with the Sun-god, it is well; upon this accordingly the queen takes the woman Ammatallas to the god of Arusnas and Ammatallas accordingly occupies the eyes of the god (*literally* takes the eyes, *ilim* IGI-ZUN-*wa êpta*): she had not gone back to the god; the son of Ammatallas accordingly takes the hands, namely the empty hand of his mother, in the palace he performs service. When the god is annoyed the omens are not favourable" If *mitawa* is right, *mit* must stand for the 1st pers. possessive pronoun *-mêt*, for which, however, I can find no parallel; but it is possible that the scribe has omitted a horizontal wedge and that we should read *mita-wa-as* which would be an adjective of unknown signification agreeing with *sakuwas* "eyes".

The signification of *damenkir* is settled by an astrological tablet (*BUK*. iv, 3, 19) in which *damengantes* is rendered by *irada zunni issakan* "there is a fall of rain".

It is now possible to correct the readings and translations of an earlier passage in the "Yuzgat" Tablet (I, 12–20). We must read: (12) *nu* SAM-ZUN-*an* XX KUR-MES GUD-ZUN UDU-ZUN UR-KU-ZUN SAKH-ZUN TI-*nu*[*t*] (13) TUR-MES SUM-*a-tas-ma khalkius* TI-*innuzi takku* . . (14) *nu-ma-sta andurza* UZU (?)-(?)-*nuzziyan-za khazzi* (15) *nu-s ûl* TI-*innuzi mân kuitt-a khuman* [*iyyan*] (16) *apâsa pait* AN IM-*ni teit kî kuit kisat* (17) *asi Khakhkhimas attissi annissi teizzi* (18) *kî azzikkiteni akkuskitteni* (19) *kabbuwattin-ma*

UD-*un ûl kuitki* AMEL SIB-LU AMEL SIB-GUD . . . (20) *apâsa udnê* TI-*innut* AN IM-*sa ûl sâkki*[*t*] ; " (12) The plants of the 20 countries, the oxen, the sheep, the dogs and the swine he vivified , (13) the sons of the harvest (?) also [and] the corn [of the land ?] he vivified ; if . . . (14) he put it secretly in a . (15) he did not vivify it, and when all was done (16) he went and said to Tessub : ' So it is,' (17) Finally Khakhkhimas says to his father (and) his mother . ' Eat (and) drink this ; (19) survey the whole (UD = *pukhru*), there is nothing ; shepherd and oxherd [are wanting].' (20) But he had vivified the lands and Tessub did not know (it) "

The ideographs in l. 14 unfortunately are uncertain ; in l 13 the third ideograph must be SUM, one of the significations of which is *etsêru* " to harvest " while another is *dakhâdu* " to be abundant " ; but in l. 14 neither of them can be identified. The first resembles UZU " flesh " rather than GÛ " side ", but in either case the character is incorrectly written and nothing can be made out of the second.

The words of Khakhkhimas in ll 16 and 17 remind us of Gen. vii, 28, 29

The Most Ancient Islamic Monument Known Dated A.H. 31 (A.D. 652)

From the time of the third Calif 'Uthman

By HASSAN MOHAMMED EL-HAWARY
Curator, Cairo Museum of Arab Art

(PLATES III–V)

IN the Cairo Museum of Arab Art there are more than three thousand slabs of marble and stone bearing Cufic inscriptions Most of these slabs are tombstones found in the ancient cemeteries of Cairo and Aswan. On each of these tombstones are inscribed the name of the deceased and the date of his death ; hence they are invaluable in working out the evolution of Arabic writing. Only two hundred of these slabs are exhibited in the Museum, the others being kept in the stores and recesses of the building.

Three years ago I started to investigate this valuable collection, which up to the end of 1928 amounted to 2,938 tombstones and 143 other pieces bearing inscriptions commemorating the erection of mosques, houses, schools, etc.

During my work I found that 2,439 tombstones were registered *en bloc* under different numbers. Moreover, we were not quite sure about the locality where these stones had been discovered.

Consequently, to make up for the deficiencies in the registration of these important monuments, I began to register them methodically, stating the material, dimensions, and date, and giving a short description of the inscription on each piece. I found them rich in different types of Arabic writing and decoration, thus opening out a wide vista for students anxious to study the evolution of Arabic writing and decorative art. The variety and beauty of some of these inscriptions and the attractive problems to be found in many of them were for me a great inducement to study them thoroughly and scientifically. I started by giving each a fiche in order to facilitate their chronological arrangement.

While continuing the work I had set before myself, I was fortunate enough to come across a slab bearing the date A.H. 31 (A.D. 652).

I also found thirty-four pieces dating from the last quarter of the second century A.H., the oldest of which bore the date A.H. 174 (A.D 790). Moreover, a series of pieces were found bearing dates representing almost every year of the subsequent three centuries. When I compared the writing on these with that on the earliest slab I saw a striking difference The writing was more beautiful and artistic in the later specimens than in the early one.

This slab is 38 × 71 cm and bears the following text :—

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا القبر

(2) لعبد الرحمن بن خير الحجرى اللهم اغفرله

(3) وادخله فى رحمة منك و اتنا معه

(4) استغفر له اذا قرا هذا الكتب (*sic*)

(5) و قل امين وكتب هذا ا

(6) لكتب (*sic*) فى جمدى (*sic*) الا

(7) خرمن سنت (*sic*) احدى و

(8) ثلثين

(1) In the name of God the whole merciful, the compassionate ; this tomb

(2) belongs to 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajrî. O God, forgive him

(3) and make him enter into Thy mercy and make us go with him.

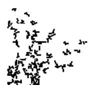
(4) (passer by) When reading this inscription ask pardon for him (the deceased)

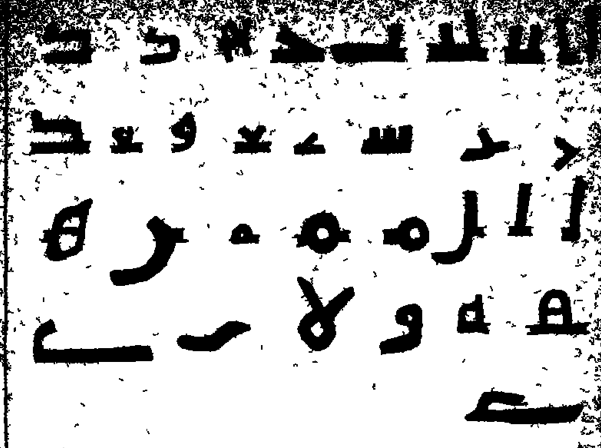
(5) and say Amen ! This inscription was written

(6) in Djumâda II

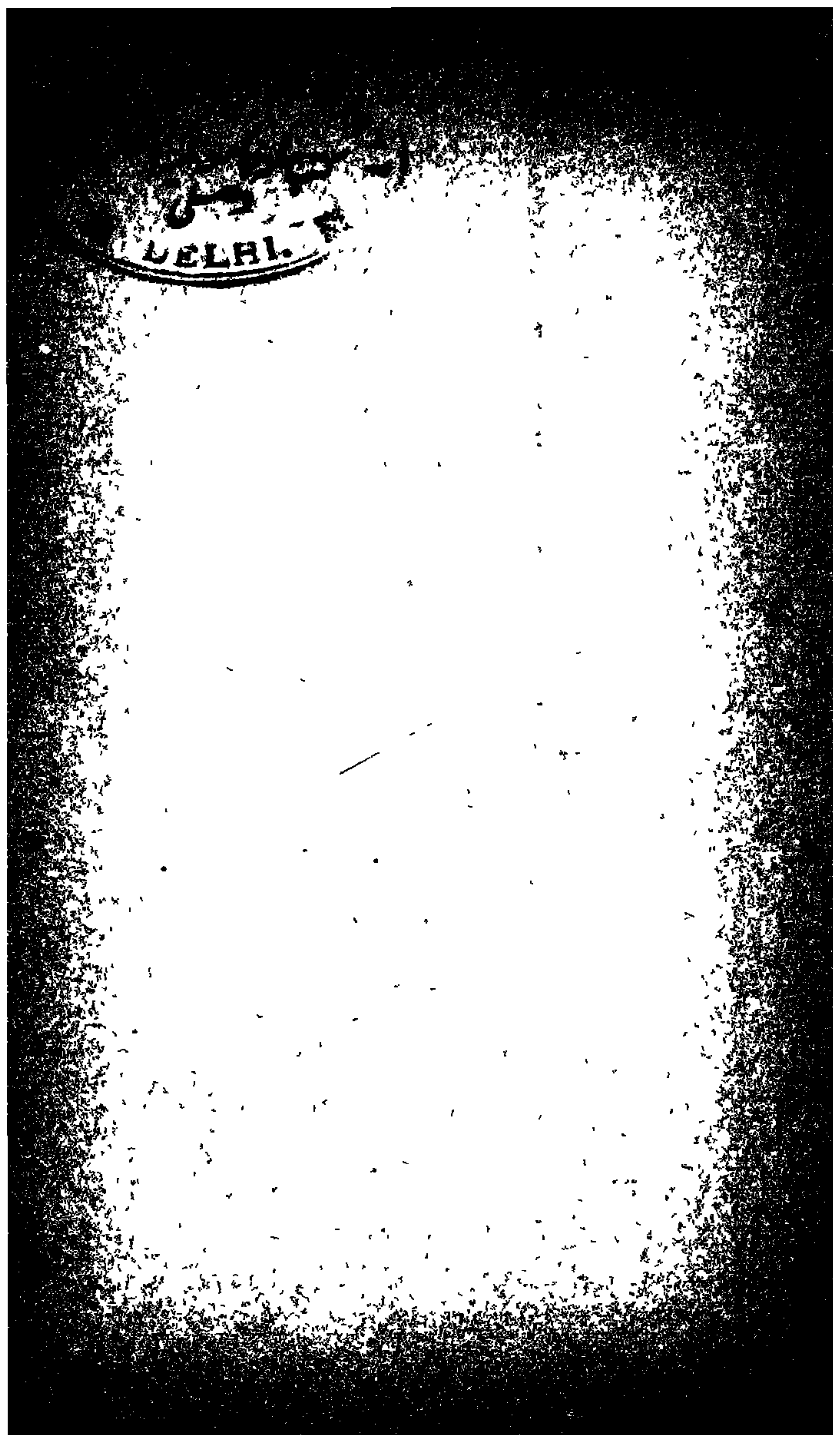
(7) of the year one and

(8) thirty (January–February, A.D. 652).





The Arabic Alphabet from the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Rahman [illegible] Khair.



M. Wiet was greatly interested in this discovery, and to facilitate my research, he very kindly gave me some manuscript of his forthcoming great Corpus of Arabic and Islamic inscriptions in order that I might compare these inscriptions with that on our newly-found slab.

The manuscripts that M. Wiet gave me were those dealing with the pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions and those of the first century A.H ; i e those dated just before and after the slab I had discovered.

Of the inscriptions which have an earlier date than the one under discussion three pieces are of pre-Islamic date.

The earliest of these monuments is the tombstone of Emro' Al-Kais found in Namara. It shows us the derivation of Arabic from Nabatean writing Its most distinctive characteristic is the fact that the letters are connected with each other, this character being peculiar to Arabic writing and not found in the Nabatean. This piece is dated A.D. 328.

After this we come to the inscription of Zebed which is dated A D. 512. This is written in three languages, Arabic, Greek, and Syriac

And following this is the inscription of Ḥarran dated A.D. 568. This is the third known pre-Islamic inscription

We need not consider those three pieces in our study of the slab in question except for a few remarks here and there.

As to the post-Islamic inscriptions, there are only twenty of the first century that are considered by M. Wiet as truly authenticated.

The earliest of these is that found by Mr. Taylor on the façade of the bridge of Batman Ḵorpū, about which he says in his "Travels in Kurdistan" (*JRGS.*, vol. xxxv, p. 25), "from the remains of an inscription on its eastern face, it was built A.D. 643 by a certain 'Othman ; with the exception of the date, no other part of the record was legible."

He did not state anything about an inscribed date. He simply mentions the name 'Uthman and assumed at first hand that it was the name of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan the third

Calif after the Prophet. But Van Berchem has challenged this statement in *Amida*, p. 33. He says: "Ce renseignement donné par Taylor mériterait d'être vérifié. Si la date est exacte, nous aurions ici la plus ancienne inscription musulmane connue et ce personnage pourrait être le Calife 'Uthman, élu en 644. Mais cette attribution est peu vraisemblable et la date semble erronée. Mr. Leeman-Haupt m'écrit que le pont existe encore et qu'il croit y avoir vu une inscription."

In regard to this caution on the part of Van Berchem we feel justified in not taking this inscription into consideration, whereas otherwise we should not hesitate to look upon it as the earliest Islamic monument. But in any case, if we did consider this monument as really dating from A.D. 643 (A.H. 22), it would be the only inscription with an earlier date than the inscription discovered in the Cairo Museum.

Then come the other inscriptions of the first century A.H. which we give here with their dates and references:—

(1)	A.H. 65, Jerusalem, Ṣakhra	C I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 214.
(2)	A.H. 69, Fusṭâṭ	C.I.A. Egypt, ii, No. 548.
(3)	A.H. 72, Jerusalem, Sakhra, construction text	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 215.
(4)	A.H. 72–216, Ṣakhra, brass plate	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 216.
(5)	A.H. 72–216, Ṣakhra, brass plate	C.I.A. Jerusalem, ii, No. 217.
(6)	A.H. 81, Kasr Burka, Field	Early man in North Arabia, Natural History, vol XIX, p. 43.
(7)	A.H. 85, Celestial sphere in brass, Ibn Al-Kifty	Leipzig ed., p. 440.
(8)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Khan al-Hathrura	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 1
(9)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Bab al-Wad	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 2.
(10)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Dair al-Qalt	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 3.
(11)	A.H. 86, Milestone, Abou Ghosh	C.I.A. Jerusalem, i, No. 4.
(12)	A.H. 92, Green Tablet, Mosque of 'Amrou	C.I.A. Egypt, ii, pp. 17, 24.
(13)	A.H. 92, Kharana, Jaussen et Savignac	Mission, iii, p. 100.
(14)	A.H. 92, Kharana, Jaussen et Savignac	Mission, iii, p 100.
(15)	A.H. 97, Nilometer, Island of Roda	C.I.A. Egypt, i, No. 1.
(16)	A.H. 100, Kusair 'Amra	Musil, pp. 217, 225.
(17)	,, Khirbat Nitil	W.Z.K.M., vol. xxii, p. 81.
(18)	,, 'Ain Ṣufiya	Museum of Beyrouth, No. 239.

These eighteen inscriptions, with that discovered by Taylor and the one discovered in the Cairo Museum, constitute all that have been left to us from the first century A.H.[1]

We can see from this table that the earliest known inscription of the first century A.H. is dated from the year A.H. 65 (A.D 684–5), i.e. thirty-four years after our discovered slab. But even that inscription is not authenticated and does not really exist. All that we know about it is what was said by a Franciscan priest who had been in Jerusalem between A.D. 1651 and 1657 and who left us a description of the Dome of the Rock in which he said that it was built in A.H. 65 (A.D. 684–5). Van Berchem in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Jerusalem*, vol. ii, No. 214, criticized the priest's account.

[1] Moritz, in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, classifies the earliest monuments of Arabic writing belonging to the Muslim period in three categories. (i) Those written on coins, the earliest of which is dated A H. 20 (A D. 641); (ii) *those found on monuments, the earliest of which is dated* A H. 72 (A D. 691–2); (iii) those written on papyrus, the most ancient of these is dated A.H 22 (A.D. 642–3). But this has not yet been studied (see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, p. 383 and seq). As to the first and last of these they do not concern us.

[In passing I should like to notice that Moritz did not mention writings found on glass weights, which we can place under the first category. The earliest of these glass weights is that found in the collection of the late Dr. Fouquet, and is dated A.H. 44 (A.D. 664) in the name of 'Okbat. But the late Casanova is doubtful about its authenticity. He says in the *MMAFC* , tome vi, p. 373, under the title of " Noms d'Emirs, et de lecture douteuse ou incomplete ", No. 166, الامير عقبه (؟) اوفوا الكيل (؟) . . . . . L'Emir 'Okbat (?), ayez des mesures exactes (?) . . . and supposing this version is correct, it does not necessarily follow that the date is A.H. 44, since 'Okbat ibn 'Amer ruled from A.H. 44–7 (A D. 664–7). We can also place under the third category two letters written in the time of the Prophet. The first is the letter sent by the Prophet to Al-Mokawkis It is presumed to have been found accidentally by a young orientalist in Manfalout in Upper Egypt in A.D. 1851 (see the *Journal Asiatique*, 1854, p. 482 and seq). But this is doubtful. The second was the document given by the Prophet to Tamim al-Dary and his brothers in the year A.H. 9 (A.D. 630). It was written by 'Ali ibn Abi Talib on a piece of leather from his boot. The document was seen by ibn Fadl-Allah El-'Omary in the year A.H. 745 (A.D. 1345) (*Masalik al-Abṣar fi Mamalik Al-Amsar*, vol. i, p. 172). It was also seen by Kalkashandi in the year A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418).]

His most important criticism refers to the date A.H. 65, of which he doubts the reality, as it was the first year of the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik. And it is known that the Dome of the Rock was not built in the first years of 'Abd-el-Malik's long reign but some years after the beginning of it. It is the date in which buildings were finished that used to be recorded, and not that in which they were begun. However, this priest has done a service in proving the mistake of those who thought that the Dome of the Rock was built in the time of the Calif 'Omar.

Then comes the inscription mentioned by Al-Koḍa'î and copied by Al-Makrizi (Bulak, vol. ii, p. 146), which inscription 'Abd-el-'Aziz ibn Marwan ordered to be written on the bridge that he erected over the Khalig al-Kabir in A.H. 69 (A D. 689). This inscription, given by M Wiet in *C.I.A. Egypt*, vol. ii, No. 548, has, however, no longer been extant since the destruction of the bridge. Hence we cannot compare it with our slab.

Of the first century inscriptions, those executed in mosaic in the Dome of the Rock and dated from A.H 72 (A.D. 691–2), i.e. from the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik ibn Marwan, are the earliest which we can compare with our slab. Al-Ma'moon erased 'Abd-el-Malik's name and replaced it by his own; but he did not alter the date, and thus the truth was known. Contemporary with these inscriptions are two others written on brass plates fixed to some doors of the Dome of the Rock, and also dated A H. 72 (A D. 691–2). The last part of each of them is, however, from the time of Al-Ma'moon and is dated from A.H. 216 (A.D. 831).

These inscriptions, which are still to be seen on the Dome of the Rock, were hitherto the most ancient Islamic writings on monuments. Their epigraphy is good, very good when compared with that of 'Abd-el-Raḥman Al-Ḥajri's tombstone. This is natural, for the tombstone is forty-one years earlier. Moreover, the tombstone is that of an ordinary individual and the writing on it is not carefully done, while

[illegible] inscription of Zebed which is dated A.D. 512.
[illegible] inscription of Harran which is dated A.D. 568.
[illegible] inscription of Kasr Burka which is dated A.H. [illegible]

the inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock are in the name of the Prince of the Faithful, and the scribe was expected to do his utmost to produce an excellent piece of work. Again, in the mosaic the writing is done with tesseræ, a thing which could be easily and skilfully worked by the craftsman. On the other hand, the inscriptions on the tombstone are engraved with a pointed tool in an ordinary and carelessly written Cufic script. There are, however, some common characteristics in the letters of the tombstone and the other inscriptions. The middle ـهـ in the former is very like that on the Dome of the Rock insomuch as both are open from above like the letter V

The writing most similar to that of the tombstone is that found in North Arabia on a threshold of a door in Kasr Burka. (Plate IV c.) It is dated from A.H 81 (A.D 700) and in the name of the prince Al-Walid ibn 'Abd-el-Malik before he became a Calif. This Kasr may have been built by Al-Walid in North Arabia as a palace in which to spend days of rest and enjoyment.

He may have ordered these inscriptions to be written in commemoration of his erection of this palace. In the method of engraving and epigraphy, these inscriptions and those of the tombstone are alike, in both the writing was done with a pointed tool and was ordinary Cufic in proportionless and unparallel lines, not drawn after a prepared design. The characters are very much alike The invocation of the name of God is nearly the same in both of them. The ه in هذا and the لا in الامير resemble the ه in هذا and the لا in الاخر. The two inscriptions are very simple and carelessly written. However, there is some difference in the spelling of the word سنة year, in Kasr Burka it is written سنة, while in the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Raḥman as well as in Ḥarran's inscriptions dated A D. 568, (Plate IV B) it is written ت. In fact this ة used to be written ت before and in the early years of Islam but was written afterwards ة

Contemporary with the Burka inscriptions are those engraved on the stone and marble slabs which were erected in the roads of Syria during the reign of 'Abd-el-Malik ibn Marwan to commemorate the construction of these roads and to show the distance in miles (Plate IV c). They are four slabs found between A.D. 1884 and 1902. The epigraphy is very carefully done, as they are in the name of the Prince of the Faithful.

Ibn El-Kifty has mentioned in his work (*Tarikh El-Ḥokama'*) an inscription contemporary with these, and which he said had been seen by a certain Ibn El-Sanbadi in the Cairo Library, on a sphere made by Ptolemy and bearing an inscription showing that it had belonged to the Prince Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mo'awiya حملت هذه الكرة من الامير خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية. Unfortunately, this sphere is not extant, and we cannot compare it with that of the tombstone of 'Abd-el-Rahman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajrî.

In A.H. 92 (A.D. 710–11) Kurra ibn Sharik renewed 'Amr's mosque and wrote the date of the renovation on a tablet known as the Green Tablet and which is also no longer extant.

Jaussen and Savignac found in Ḳasr Kharana during their travels in Arabia many inscriptions, the most perfect of which is eleven lines in length and is dated A.H. 92 (A.D. 710–11) (Plate IV D). Most of the characters in this inscription resemble those of the tombstone. The middle ه, however, was sometimes opened from above and sometimes closed.

The most ancient Arabic inscription known in Egypt was that written in relief on the column of the Nilometer in the Roda Island between the 15th and 17th cubes. It dates from A.H. 96–7 (A.D. 714–15) during the reign of Solayman ibn 'Abd-el-Malik. This inscription is سبع عشر ذراعا – ست عشر ذراعا – خمس عشر ذراعا repeated four times. It is

الطرىو
عىد الله عىد الملك
امىر المو‌ه رحمه الله
علىه مر اىا الى هدا
المىل حمسه امىال

[illegible] the construction text of the Dome of the Rock which [illegible]
[illegible]2 (A.D. 691–2).
[illegible] the inscription of the brass plates of the Dome of [illegible]
[illegible] is dated A.H. 72 (A.D. 691–2).
[illegible] of the Milestone, Bab al-Wad, which is [illegible]

not dated, but all the historians assert that it is as old as the Nilometer itself.

Next to this inscription come three others of the end of the first century. These were found in Kusair 'Amra (A.H 100 (A.D. 718–19)), Khirbat Nitil, (Plate V D) and 'Ain Ṣufiya.

When comparing 'Abd-el-Rahman's tombstone with the existing inscriptions of the first century, we can see that it resembles some in the design of the letters, the others being somewhat different. This is due to the fact that these inscriptions may be classified into two kinds: the first, carefully done and intended for important cases; the other, written hurriedly and in an ordinary handwriting and used for ordinary purposes. The inscriptions of the first kind are right-angled, having equidistant lines and equal letters. In other words, it is written in what is really Cufic writing. Those of the other kind are very much like the Naskhi. This tends to prove that the Cufic and Naskhi writings were originally twins· otherwise, the Naskhi, because of its simplicity, was older than the Cufic.

The inscriptions which resemble the tombstone are those of Ḳasr Burka (A H. 81), of Kharana (A.H. 92), and of Kusair 'Amra (A.H. 100). They also bear much resemblance to the pre-Islamic inscriptions in Zebed and Ḥarran This is clearly seen in Plate IV, which contains some similar letters in these inscriptions.

The other inscriptions which differ from 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone as regards design but resemble it in shape are those of the Dome of the Rock on mosaic and brass plates fixed to the door and dated from A.H. 72, and those engraved on milestones from A.H. 86 and Khirbat Nitil. We have drawn a part of each of them in Plate V in order to show that they are similar to those of the first kind in the shape of the letters, but different in the careful and perfect design which caused the letters to be right-angled.

As regards the text itself, the inscriptions of the first century may also be classified into two sets. The first are those

written in commemoration of the construction of monuments or buildings. The second are funerary texts, bearing the name of the deceased, the date of his death, and some pious wishes or Coranic verses. The second are usually written on tombstones and walls of tombs. The inscriptions of the second part are the only ones comparable to 'Abd-el-Rahman's tombstone. They are those in Kharana and Khirbat Nitil. They are similar in some formulae. In 'Abd-el-Rahman's tombstone the scribe wrote اللهم اغفرله. In Kharana's inscription there is nearly the same phrase though with greater length and clearness: اللهم ارحم عبد الملك بن عبيد (?) واغفرله ذنبه ما تقدم منه و ما تأخر. In the inscription of Khirbat Nitil there is اللهم اغفر لعبد العزيز بن الحرث بن الحكم ما تقدم من ذنبه و ما تأخر.

'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone, unlike the others preserved in the Cairo Museum, has the following characteristics :—

1. *The Material* : It is of limestone and only very rarely was a piece of this kind used as a tombstone in the first five centuries after the Hegira. The two materials which were used in the tombstones of these five centuries were marble and sandstone. On the latter the inscriptions were graven in sunken letters and always surrounded by a frame. But in 'Abd-el-Rahman's tombstone the writing is engraved and has no frame.

2. *The Method of Engraving* : In the tombstones of the first five centuries A H. the engraver used to level the plate which he was going to use and on which he drew straight and parallel lines. On these lines he would paint, in black ink, what he desired to write. Then he would engrave it carefully. That is not the case with this tombstone. The letters of the upper part are small while those of the lower are large. The lines are neither straight nor parallel and the letters are not neatly cut.

3. *The Shape of the Characters* : In this tombstone there are

two letters which had a special shape and design until the end of the second century. But they changed and took another shape in the beginning of the third century. These letters are ه and ه. The ه of this tombstone in هـذا القبر and هذا الكتب are two semicircles one above the other. Also the middle ه is opened from above like the letter V.

4. *The Spelling*: The middle ا in الكتب and جدى has been dropped. The dropping of the middle ا and some other vowels was frequent in the beginning of Islam. They wrote عثمن ومرون وصلح . . . الخ with no ا, as the Coran is written. Again, the word سنة was written in this tombstone سنت with an open ت ; we have never seen this in other tombstones, though we have often come across the confusion between the open and the closed ة in the word رحمت of the phrase رحمة الله.

5. *The Formulae*: Its formulae differ from those which we see in other tombstones. In fact it is unique in such phrases as اللهم اغفرله وادحله فى رحمة منك واتنا معه .

As to the personality of 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair Al-Ḥajri, and whether he was a great man or not, we cannot say very much. Al-Sam'anî in Kitab Al-Ansab said that this nesba الحجرى might be :—

(1) Al-Ḥajrî الحَجْرى from Al-Ḥajr الحَجْر, which was the name of three tribes, one of حجر حمير ـ حمير, the other of حجر رعين ـ رعين, and the third of حجر الأزد ـ الازد.

(2) Al-Ḥojri الحُجْرى from Al-Ḥojr الحُجر, which is the name of a place in Yemen.

I am inclined to think that 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair was from حجر الأزد Ḥajr Al-Azd, because I notice in *Ibn* Dukmaḳ (vol. iv, p. 125), when speaking of Giza, the following passage :—

هذه المدينة مدينة اسلامية بيت فى سنة احدى و عشرين وقيل فرغ منها فى سنة اثنتين و عشرين وسبب بنائها ان عمرو بن العاص لما رجع من الاسكندرية فى جيشه و نزل الفسطاط جعل طائفة من جيشه بالجيزة خوفا من عدو يغشاهم من تلك الناحية فجعل آل ذى اصبح من حمير وهم كثير ونافع بن زيد ابن رعين وجعل فيها همدان وجعل فيها طائفة من الأزديين من الحجريين من الهبو من الأزد و طائفة من الحبشة و ديوانهم فى الأزد فلما استقر عمرو بن العاص فى الفسطاط امر الذين خلفهم بالجيزه ان ينضموا اليه فكرهوا ذلك .

"This is an Islamic city built in A.H. 21. It is said that its construction was finished in A.H. 22 The reason of this construction was that when 'Amr ibn Al-'Aṣ returned from Alexandria with his army and took his abode in Fusṭât, he ordered a part of his army to stay in Giza lest an enemy should attack his army from that side. He left in Giza the tribe of ذى اصبح from حمير; they are كثير and نافع sons of زيد بن رعين. He left also همدان and some of the tribe أزد from the subdivision الحجريين من الهبو من الأزد and some Abyssinians whose Diwan was in الأزد. When 'Amr was safe and fixed in Al-Fustât he asked those whom he had left in Giza to join him, but they disliked that . . ."

Al-Makrizi in his *Khiṭaṭ* (vol. i, p. 206) mentions this story and adds ibn Dukmak's text after Kuda'î, with a slight difference as he says: و طائفة من الازديين بنى الحجر ابن الهبو بن الأزد.

This is clear evidence that some of حجر الأزد came to Egypt after the conquest and lived in Giza in A.H. 21. 'Abd-el-Raḥman ibn Khair was one of this tribe. He died in A.H. 31

and was buried in Al-Karafa outside Al-Fusṭâṭ. He may have been a boy or an ordinary man who died ten years after the conquest. In the Cairo Museum of Arab Art I came across another tombstone of a woman of this tribe called شادة بنت محمد الحجرى Shadat bint Moḥammed Al-Ḥajri who died in A.H. 228. This proves that this tribe remained till that date

This valuable monument, 'Abd-el-Raḥman's tombstone, is now exhibited in the third room of our Museum under No. 1, as being the oldest known monument in the Islamic world.

Note by D. S Margoliouth: In line 3 of the inscription, p. 322, for واتا we should read وإنا, i.e. وإيانا "and us"

In the *Zeitschrift fur Semitistik*, vii, 197 (1929), E Littmann publishes yet another pre-Islamic Arabic Inscription, which is difficult to decipher.



Naicasakha

By JARL CHARPENTIER

THE hymn *RV*. iii, 53, is of an obscure and difficult nature. Oldenberg [1] sees in it only an incongruous jumble of disconnected stanzas and refuses to adopt the theories of either Hillebrandt or Geldner concerning it. The former scholar [2] looked upon it as a collection of *yājyānuvākyāh* belonging to the horse-sacrifice, but it really seems difficult to subscribe to such an explanation. The late Professor Geldner again always [3] maintained that the hymn represented a uniform composition which had been taken out from the complete family saga of the Viśvāmitras. In one passage he calls it an *āyuṣmatāṃ kathā*; and, as then at any rate he was a staunch supporter of the *ākhyāna*-theory of Oldenberg, he probably found little difficulty in looking upon it as being the metrical part of a composition, the prose frame of which was wanting and could only be supplied from Sāyaṇa and other commentator literature. The present writer long ago tried to explain why he cannot accept the *ākhyāna*-theory.[4] But in spite of that it seems to him that Geldner was probably, in the main, right in looking upon the hymn as one connected piece of poetry, though details partly remain very obscure.

However, I am not prepared to enter upon a discussion of the hymn in general, nor is that necessary to my present purpose, which is only to deal with one verse, or, rather, with one single word in that verse, concerning which I might venture a modest suggestion. The verse in question is the fourteenth, which runs as follows :—

Kíṃ te kṛṇvanti kíkaṭeṣu gávo
nā́śiraṃ duhré ná tapanti gharmám |
ā́ no bhara prámagandasya védo
naicāśākhám maghavan randhayā naḥ ||

[1] Cf. *Ṛgveda-Noten*, i, 253 sqq.

[2] Cf. *Festgruss Boehtlingk*, p. 43.

[3] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, ii, 158 sqq.; *Der RV. in Auswahl*, ii, 56 sqq.; *Der Rigveda*, i, 353 sqq.

[4] Cf. *Die Suparṇasage*, p. 1 sqq.

As a whole the stanza offers no special difficulties to the translator, only three words are of unknown meaning. Of these, however, *kīkaṭa* must, without the slightest doubt, denote a certain people; already the *Nirukta* 6, 32, tells us about *kīkaṭā nāma deśo' nāryanivāsaḥ*, and they have been identified, though on very slight grounds, with the Magadhas. As for *pramaganda*, there is also little doubt that it is a nomen proprium, though there is also another explanation.[1] But, if such assumptions are fairly safe, there is nothing but uncertainty concerning the word *naicāśākha*. Sāyaṇa, in his commentary to this verse, follows Yāska and explains it thus: *nīcāsu śūdrayoniṣūtpāditā śākhā putrapautrādiparamparā yena sa nīcāśākhaḥ*; but in the introduction to his *Bhāṣya* he upholds another opinion, simply telling us about *naicāśākhaṃ nāma nagaram*. Apparently he had no solid tradition to keep to, nor will any of his explanations inspire much confidence.

Boethlingk-Roth and Grassmann adopted as most probable the common explanation of Yāska and translate the word by "low people, outcasts", while Geldner, at least in his later works, takes *naicāśākha* to be the name of some town. Hillebrandt, however, quite correctly objects that in the Saṃhitās the word *śākhā* never means "branch of a people, gens", but simply "branch, stalk, twig", and that consequently *naicāśākha* could only mean "belonging to, connected with (a plant) with low, turned down branches". We cannot here follow his arguments in detail.[2] However, he thinks that *nīcāśākha* must mean the plant with "turned down twigs"; and, as there is really only one plant that plays an important part in the life of the Vedic Aryans, viz. the Soma, this must be one of its names. This seems not impossible, though we must admit that anything like a *strict*

[1] Nirukta, 6, 32, explains *maganda* as "a usurer" and *pramaganda* as his offspring. Sāyaṇa, however, in the introduction to his RV.-commentary simply says *pramagando nāma rājā*, which appears more sensible.

[2] Cf. *Vedische Mythologie*, 2nd ed., i, 204 sqq.

proof is missing. In another passage,[1] however, Hillebrandt seems to think that *naicāśākha* is in reality = *naiyagrodha*, and that already in *RV.* iii, 53, 14, we hear about the possession of banyan-trees and their products.

This last suggestion of his I believe to be correct in so far that *naicāśākha* is most probably identical with *naiyagrodha*, which must again mean that *nīcāśākha* is in reality = *nyagrodha*. It has been assumed that the banyan-tree is not mentioned in the Rigveda—neither *nyagrodha* nor *vaṭa* occurring there—but Geldner seems to me to have definitely proved that this is not the case[2] The stanza which must undoubtedly allude to it is *RV.* i, 24, 7 ·

abudhné rā́jā Váruṇo vánasya
ūrdhvám stū́pam dadate pūtádakṣah |
nīcī́nā sthur upári budhná eṣām
asmé antár níhitāḥ ketávah syuh ||

There seems no doubt that the tree with which the universe is here compared must be the *nyagrodha*. And this leads further to the fig-tree with its roots upwards and its branches downwards, which is mentioned in the *Kāth Up.* 6, 1, and in *Bhagavadgītā*, 15, 1[3] It is quite true that this tree is in the passages just quoted called an *aśvattha*; and the latest editor of the *Bhagavadgītā* has tried to adduce an explanation for this somewhat astounding fact[4] But I doubt whether such an explanation is really very necessary, and whether the *aśvattha* has not, because of its greater holiness within certain circles, simply been substituted for the *nyagrodha*, which was no doubt originally spoken of in this allegory.

[1] Loc cit., p. 246 sq.

[2] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, i, 113 sq. v. Schroeder, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 60, n. 1, has dealt with the verse *RV.* i, 24, 7, without mentioning the paper by Geldner; however, his results are mainly the same.

[3] On this and connected topics cf. v. Schroeder, loc cit., p 59 sqq. The idea of the tree with its roots turned upwards apparently travelled far outside India, cf. Kagarow, *Der umgekehrte Schamanenbaum* in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxvii, 183 sqq.

[4] Cf. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā*, p. 236, n. 1.

But that is really a minor point; the chief thing is that the *nyagrodha* seems to have been known also to the poets of the Rigveda, and there is thus no obstacle to assuming that *naicāśākha* really means *naiyagrodha*.

But if such be the case what, then, does this *naicāśākha* = *naiyagrodha* mean? It is quite true that *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sū* x, 9, 30 prescribes that real Soma should not be given to a *kṣatriya* or a *vaiśya*, and that instead of it one should give them the juice of the *nyagrodha*-fruit squeezed out in milk. And the *Aitareya Br.* vii, 35; viii, 16 in a mysterious way identifies the *nyagrodha* with the *kṣatriya*- or *rājanya*-caste.[1] It is thus not unnatural that Hillebrandt on second thoughts arrived at the conclusion that *naicāśākha* does here mean the products (i e the fruit and possibly the milk-juice [2]) of the banyan-tree. However, this does not seem to me very probable, as the possession of these products could scarcely be so very rare and precious that special prayers should be offered to Indra to grant its possession. The banyan-tree is, and has most probably always been, fairly common throughout India both in a wild and a cultivated state.[3]

Then there must be another possible explanation which I shall venture to put forth here. It is a well-known fact that amongst trees looked upon as sacred by the Hindus the *aśvattha* (*peepul*, *Ficus religiosa* L.) and the *nyagrodha* (*F. bengalensis* L.) have since olden time occupied the front rank. Very numerous passages in more recent literature testify to the holiness and worship of the *nyagrodha*, and I will abstain from quoting here more than a few passages, as, e.g., Yule-Burnell *Hobson-Jobson* [2], p. 65 sqq.; Tavernier's *Travels in India*, ed. Ball-Crooke, ii, 154 sq. (with literature); Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, ed. Beauchamp [3], p. 652 sq.; Watt, *Commercial Products*, p. 537

[1] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie* [2], i, 245 sq.

[2] The banyan-tree is at times called the *kṣīravṛkṣa*, the "milk-juice tree".

[3] Cf. Watt, *Commercial Products*, p. 537.

(with numerous references which are only partly accessible to me in Upsala); Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, pp. 177–219; Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. Crooke, p. 385; Enthoven, *Bombay Folklore*, pp. 118 sq., 291, etc. Worship of the banyan-tree generally consists of tying threads round the stem, daubing the bark with red colour,[1] and sacrificing glass-beads, copper coins, etc., to the tree. That this worship dates from olden times and was formerly of a less amiable character we shall see presently

Thus I venture to think that *naicāśākha* means "a worshipper of the *nīcāśākha*", i.e. of the banyan-tree. And the translation of the stanza *RV.* iii, 53, 14 would run something like this: "What do the cows amongst the Kīkaṭa's avail thee? They[2] milk no milk to be mixed with Soma, they make no *gharma*[3] hot. Bring unto us the possessions of Pramaganda, render into our hands the worshipper of the banyan-tree."

Of the Kīkata's we know next to nothing The identification of this people with the Magadhas is old, but is probably simply founded upon a fanciful rapprochement of *Pramaganda* with *Magadha*. But one thing seems to me to be clear from the stanza iii, 53, 11.

> *úpa préta kuśikāś cetáyadhvam*
> *áśvaṃ rāyé prá muñcata sudā́saḥ* |
> *rā́jā vṛtráṃ jaṅghanat prā́g ápāg údag*
> *áthā yajāte vára ā́ pṛthivyā́ḥ* ||

Here we are told that King Sudās will conquer his foes in the East, the West, and the North. And a few verses after this Indra, the heavenly war-lord, is exhorted to conquer the

[1] On ceremonial daubing with red or yellow colour (*pūjā*) cf. my article in *Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 276 sqq., and *Ind. Ant.* lvi, and the paper by M. Przyluski, *Revue de l'hist. des religions*, xcvi, 347 sqq. (cf. also M. de la Vallée Poussin, *Académie Royale de Belgique: Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres*, 1929, p. 37 sqq.).

[2] Viz. the Kīkaṭa's.

[3] The *gharma* is, of course, the pot of heated milk used at the *pravargya*.

Kīkaṭa's who had apparently not surrendered to Sudās. From this it seems an obvious conclusion that the Kīkaṭa's lived to the south of the place where Viśvāmitra and his kin composed their hymns and sacrificed for Sudās. As this was probably somewhere in the Punjāb we may be fairly safe in assuming that the Kīkaṭa's lived at some place in the Sindh territory. In this connection we may perhaps remember that the sacred *aśvattha* (*peepul*) undoubtedly occurs on a seal found at Mohenjo-Daro; but this may be nothing but an idle guess.

The Kīkaṭa's apparently were barbarians of un-Aryan origin and with an un-Aryan name.[1] They did not offer sacrifices to the Aryan gods, and seem to have been especially averse to the ritual use of milk. If my suggestion be accepted they were also worshippers of the sacred fig-tree, the *nyagrodha*. Now, there is scarcely one tribe of Indo-European stock that did not worship and even offer sacrifices to trees and tree-spirits[2]; and thus it does not seem as if the Aryans would despise and hate the Kīkaṭa's especially because of their cult of the *nyagrodha*. However, to the question why they did it I shall answer without fail . because the un-Aryan tribes offered human sacrifices to the banyan-tree and probably did it in a peculiarly revolting way.

The proof of this suggestion is offered by certain among the Pāli *Jātakas*.

Already the short *Jātaka* 19 (*Āyācitabhattajātaka*)[3] mentions bloody sacrifices offered to the spirit of a *nyagrodha*-tree, though human beings are not mentioned here . *atīte Kāsiraṭṭhe ekasmiṃ gāmake kuṭimbiko gāmadvāre ṭhite nigrodharukkhe devatāya balikammaṃ paṭijānitvā anantarāyena āgantvā bahū*

[1] Of the words beginning with *kī°* quite a number, as e.g. *kīcaka-*, *kīnāśa-*, *kīra-*, *kīsta-*, etc., have a decidedly un-Aryan appearance and must have been borrowed from other languages. Yāska *Nirukta*, vi, 32, of course, tries an impossible etymology of *Kīkaṭa* (= *kiṃkṛta* or *kiṃ kriyābhiḥ*).

[2] Cf. the comprehensive article on this subject in Schrader's *Reallexikon der indogerman. Altertumskunde*[2], ii, 516 sqq.

[3] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, i, 169.

pāṇe vadhitvā "āyācanato muccissāmīti" rukkhamūlaṃ gato. However, the tree-sprite turned out to be a Bodhisattva and declined the bloody sacrifices.

If now we turn to *Jātaka* 50 (*Dummedhajātaka*)[1] we shall hear about more revolting practices. The Bodhisattva at one time was Prince Brahmadatta of Benares. After his studies in Taxila he returned and took up the vice-regency (*oparajja*) And then we let the text itself speak · "*Tasmiṃ samaye Bārāṇasivāsino devatāmaṃgalakā honti, devatā namassanti, bahuajeḷakakukkuṭasūkarādayo*[2] *vadhitvā nānappakārehi pupphagandhehi ceva maṃsalohitehi ca balikammaṃ karonti. Bodhisatto cintesi: 'idāni sattā devatāmaṃgalikā bahuṃ pāṇavadhaṃ karonti, mahājano yebhuyyena adhammasmiṃ yeva niviṭṭho, aham pitu accayena rajjaṃ labhitvā ekam pi akilāmetvā upāyen'eva pānavadhaṃ kātuṃ na dassāmīti' so ekadivasaṃ rathaṃ abhiruyha nagarā nikkhanto addasa ekasmiṃ mahante vaṭarukkhe mahājanaṃ sannipatitaṃ tasmiṃ rukkhe nibbattadevatāya santike putta-dhītuyasadhanādisu yaṃ yaṃ icchati taṃ taṃ patthentaṃ. So rathā oruyha taṃ rukkham upasaṃkamitvā gandhapupphehi pūjetvā udakena abhisekam katvā rukkhaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā devatāmaṃgaliko hutvā devataṃ namassitvā rathaṃ abhiruyha nagaram eva pāvisi.*" In this way he then continued his worship of the great banyan-tree and finally, at the death of his father, became king. He then resolved to put an end to the bloody sacrifices and did it in this way . . . . "*amacce ca brāhmaṇagahapatiādayo ca sannipātāpetvā āmantesi; 'jānātha bho mayā kena kāraṇena rajjaṃ pattan'ti. 'Na jānāma devā'ti. 'Api vo'haṃ asukaṃ nāma vaṭarukkhaṃ gandhādīhi pūjetvā añjaliṃ paggahetvā namassamāno diṭṭhapubbo'ti. 'Āma devā'ti. 'Tadā ahaṃ patthanaṃ akāsiṃ. 'sace rajjaṃ pāpuṇissāmi balikammaṃ te karissāmīti', tassā me devatāya ānubhāvena idaṃ rajjaṃ laddhaṃ, idāni 'ssā balikammaṃ*

[1] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, i, 259 sqq.

[2] The goat, cock and pig still are favourite animals in popular sacrifices in India

karissāmi, tumhe papañcaṃ akatvā khippaṃ devatāya bali-kammaṃ sajjethā'ti. 'kiṃ kiṃ gaṇhāma devatā'ti.[1] *'Bho ahaṃ devatāya āyācamāno 'ye va mayhaṃ rajje pāṇātipātādīni pañca dussīlakammāni dasa akusalakammapathe samādāya vattissanti te ghātetvā antavaddhimaṃsalohitādīhi balikammaṃ karissāmīti' āyāciṃ, tumhe evaṃ bheriṃ carāpetha 'amhākaṃ rājā uparājakāle yeva evam āyāci : sac'āhaṃ rajjaṃ pāpuṇissāmi ye me rajje dussīlā bhavissanti te sabbe ghātetvā bali-kammaṃ karissāmīti so idāni pañcavidhaṃ dasavidhaṃ dussīlakammaṃ samādāya vattamānānaṃ dussīlānaṃ sahassaṃ ghātāpetvā tesam hadayamaṃsādīni gāhāpetvā devatāya bali-kammaṃ kāretukāmo, evañ ca nagaravāsino jānantū'ti, evañ ca pana vatvā ye dāni ito patthāya dussīlakamme vattissanti tesaṃ sahassaṃ ghātetvā yaññaṃ yajitvā āyācanato muccissāmīti.'*

In the continuation of this story no sacrifice is, of course, performed as the whole thing is here only described as being a trick of a Buddhist prince to keep mischievous subjects in check. But this is of no importance. What is far more important is that the ministers, etc., are not in the slightest degree astonished at the king's cruel command, but at once give publicity to it. And there is no doubt that the author of this text knew about the habit of offering human sacrifices to banyan-trees in which sacrifices the entrails, blood and flesh of the victims were the substantial parts of the *bali*.

Even more horrid practices are described in *Jātaka* 353 (*Dhonasākhajātaka*).[2] The Bodhisattva was once a world-famed teacher at Taxila, and amongst his pupils was Prince Brahmadatta from Benares, a youth of a harsh and cruel disposition. After some time he succeeded his father as king. His *purohita*, a greedy and cruel scoundrel, inspired him with the idea of conquering the kings of various cities in order to become the sole ruler of India. After a great number of

[1] Although *devatā ti* in the reading of both Fausbøll's MSS. we must no doubt read *devā ti*.

[2] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, iii, 157 sqq.

conquests he at last proceeded to lay siege to Taxila; but the Bodhisattva knew how to frustrate his efforts. And then we turn to the text itself: "*Bārāṇasirājāpi Gaṅgātīre mahato nigrodharukkhassa mūle sāṇiṃ parikkhipāpetvā upari vitānaṃ kāretvā sayanaṃ paññāpetvā nivāsaṃ gaṇhi So Jambudīpatale sahassaṃ rājāno gahetvā yujjhamāno pi Takkasilaṃ gahetuṃ asakkonto purohitaṃ pucchi: 'ācariya, mayaṃ ettakehi rājūhi saddhiṃ āgantvā Takkasilaṃ gahetum na sakkoma, kin nu kho kātabban'ti. 'Mahārāja rājasahassānaṃ akkhīni uppāṭetvā kucchiṃ phāletvā pañcamadhuramaṃsaṃ ādāya imasmiṃ nigrodhe nibbattadevatāya balikammaṃ katvā antavaṭṭīhi rukkhaṃ parikkhipitvā lohitapañcaṅgulikāni karoma, evaṃ no khippam eva jayo bhavissatīti.*"

This horrid sacrifice was speedily performed in the manner prescribed by that human ghoul, the *purohita*. The unhappy princes were knocked unconscious, then their eyes were slit out, the bodies cut open and the entrails taken out, whereupon the carcases were thrown into the river. The entrails were then hung as garlands on the tree, and it was marked with spread hands dipped in the blood of the victims [1] The number of men sacrificed is, of course, entirely fanciful; but there is not the slightest doubt that we have here before us a detailed and true description of a peculiarly horrid form of human sacrifice performed as a *bali* to the spirit of the banyan-tree. The description tallies only too well with those of sacrifices known from more modern times to be pure fancy.

The *Mahāsutasomajātaka* (*Jātaka* 537) [2] is the well-known story of the king who by tasting human flesh turned into a man-eating ogre and was exiled by his subjects. In the forest he caught human beings and fed on their flesh. There is no need to repeat this long and rather tedious story, and we shall only

[1] On the *lohitapañcaṅgulika*, etc., cf. the paper by Professor Vogel in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie von Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 5: iv, 218 sqq. (1920). Professor Vogel on p. 221 refers to the *Dhonasākhajātaka*.

[2] *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll, v, 456 sqq.

point to a passage on p. 472 where the ogre who lives beneath a banyan-tree makes the following vow to the spirit of the tree: *'ayyo rukkhadevate, sace me sattāhabbhantare yeva vanaṃ phāsukaṃ kātuṃ sakkhissasi sakalaJambudīpe ekasatakhattiyānaṃ galalohitena te khandhaṃ dhovitvā antehi parikkhipitvā pañcamadhuramaṃsena balikammaṃ karissāmīti.*" The sacrifice spoken of here is of precisely the same nature as the one referred to in the passage quoted above; entrails of the victim hung on the tree, its trunk besmeared with the blood, heart, liver, etc., offered as *bali*. There is not the slightest reason for doubting these detailed and blood-curdling descriptions And it is quite obvious that the spirit of the banyan-tree was looked upon as having an insatiable craving for human flesh and blood. The present custom of daubing the tree with vermilion is most probably a reminiscence of far more sinister rites [1]

If such were the rites with which the aboriginal tribes—and thus perhaps even the Kīkaṭa's—worshipped the banyan-tree, there is little wonder that the Aryans cherished a peculiar hatred towards them It may even have happened that some of their own, having been taken captives of war, had lost their lives in this horrible way; we remember in this connection that the Khonds were peculiarly keen on kidnapping Brahmin boys for their Meriāh sacrifices.

The Jātakas also know of other superstitions connected with the banyan-tree. In iv, 350 sqq. we hear of a magic *nyagrodha* haunted by *nāgas*, which grants all sorts of precious gifts; and in iv, 474 f. the spirit of a banyan-tree grants children to a poor woman and to the wife of a *purohita*—an idea which is still fully alive in India [2] and is of a particularly primitive trend. It is highly probable that the idea of the *gandharva*, that mysterious being which according to Buddhist

[1] This, of course, does not mean that according to my opinion vermilion used in the *pūjā*-rites is always a substitute for (human) blood

[2] Cf. e.g. Enthoven *Bombay Folklore*, p. 291, etc.

theory must be present at the conception,[1] was originally nothing but the primitive idea of pregnancy being caused by the woman passing a certain tree, an ant-hill, etc. As we have it in Buddhist lore, it has, however, been mixed up with the more scientific idea of physiological paternity It is, however, quite clear that we cannot enter upon the discussion of these ideas here.

The results of these modest lines, if results there be, are then that in *RV*. iii, 53, 14, the word *naicāśākha* means " worshipper of the banyan-tree " ; and that the worship of that tree was peculiarly hateful to the Aryans because of the atrocious human sacrifices performed in connection with it.

[1] On this idea cf. especially Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, p. 12 sqq

A Bakhtiari Prose Text

By Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, C.I.E.

THE assemblage of tribes known as the Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri occupy the mountain tract in Southern Persia lying roughly between longitudes 48 40′ and 51 E, bounded on the south by the plains of <u>Kh</u>uzistan and on the north by the districts of Chahārmahāl, Farēdan, and <u>Kh</u>onsār, where the central Iranian Plateau blends into the great southern mountain range.

The Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri tribes fall into two main groups, the Haftlang and the Chahārlang The Haftlang predominate both in numbers and importance and are almost entirely nomadic, while the Chahārlang are for the most part a settled population occupying the country round Qala' Tul in the south-east corner of the joint tribal territory

For information regarding the history and social organization and conditions of the Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri reference may be made to Lord Curzon's *Persia*, vol ii, and for an excellent summary including more recent material, to the valuable article entitled "The Bakhtiaris", by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, in the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xiii, part iii, 1926, pp. 205–25.

This essay contains a useful bibliography, to which may now be added the articles "Lur" and "Luristan", by V. Minorsky, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1928). These articles give an admirable summary of what is known regarding the Lurs, the larger ethnological group of which the Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri are a fraction. They are further provided with bibliographies, which include Persian as well as European literary sources.

There is further to be mentioned the *Kitāb i Tarī<u>kh</u> i Ba<u>kh</u>tiārī*, in Persian, by Sultān Muhammad Nāyīnī, compiled under the direction of the late distinguished Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri chief

Haji 'Ali Quli Khān, Sardār As'ad, completed in the year 1333 A.H. This work consists of about 600 fscp. lithographed pages. A considerable portion of it is formed by quotations from the works of European writers, e.g. Layard, Curzon, etc., which are of no value to those who have access to the originals, but there are also quotations from Persian works, and, more valuable still, original historical and topographic matter with some references to tribal organization, administration, and customs. It is a pity that this original element of the work was not developed in greater completeness and detail. The book is not easy to obtain, and I have to thank Sir Arnold Wilson for procuring a copy for my inspection.

The language of the Bakhtiāri is one of a group of Persian dialects extending geographically along the mountain tract from Pusht i Kūh on the west to the Kuhgilu and Mamāsani territories on the east. This group is akin to that of the Fars dialects, including Modern Persian.

The differences from Modern Persian are marked in the sphere of phonology and there is also some divergence in vocabulary. In morphology the divergence is limited in range, and in syntax there is nothing radically different from non-literary colloquial Persian

Up till recently the Bakhtiāri dialect had received little attention. A few words had been recorded by travellers in the nineteenth century, but it was only in 1910 that Oskar Mann published his *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stamme in Südwestlichen Persien* in which he gives something less than two pages of prose texts and about 339 lines of verse, and a vocabulary of some 120 distinctively Bakhtiāri words.

In his introduction Mann disposes of the previously-alleged relationship of Bakhtiāri to the Kurdish group of dialects. In an earlier article " Kurze Skizze der Lurdialekte ", *SBAW*. 1904, pp. 1173–93, he had given a brief account of the principal morphological and phonological features of the Bakhtiāri and other Lur dialects

In 1922 was published posthumously the third part of V. Žukovski's *Materialy dlya Izučeniya Persidskikh Narečii*, consisting of the "Dialect of the Chahārlang and Haftlang Bakhtiārīs".

This work contains about 2,000 lines of verse (1,000 *baits*) with Russian translations, and a complete Bakhtiārī-Russian Vocabulary with references to the texts and a Russian-Bakhtiāri index. There are no prose texts

The material was collected, according to the information of Minorski, in the years 1883–1886 A Bakhtiārī note in the book appears to give A.H. 1302 (A D. 1884) as the date of the translation.

It is much to be regretted that the author, who died in 1918, failed to supply this work with the introduction and commentary which he was so well-qualified to write. Copies are now difficult to obtain.

In the *Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, Prize Publication Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, 1922, I attempted to carry out a detailed comparison of the sounds of Bakhtiāri with those corresponding to them in Modern Persian This book contains a Bakhtiāri-English Vocabulary of some 1,200 or 1,300 entries, including words used in, but not peculiar to, Bakhtiāri. It was based entirely on materials collected by myself in 1906, 1908, and 1913–14.

This concludes, as far as I know, the record of Bakhtiāri material published up to the present time

It will be noted that while there is a considerable body of verse at the command of those to whom Žukovski's collection is available, the published prose amounts only to some two pages.

Bakhtiāri verse is extremely interesting from various points of view, but owing to archaism, conventionality and obscurity of diction it is not entirely typical of the ordinary spoken language, which is much better represented by modern prose narrative.

In these circumstances the publication of *Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri* prose texts cannot be regarded as supererogatory, and any addition to the small existing stock may perhaps be welcomed.

The short text which I print below is a fairly typical sample of a large number which I possess.

It is to be remembered that these texts were taken down from oral communication and that consequently some degree of inconsequence of thought, and clumsiness of expression is to be expected, apart from possible errors of the recorder.

I retain my original system of transcription which is as follows—the illustrations of the sounds are only approximate :—

The following are the

Vowels

ā and *-a*	English	f*a*ther
å	,,	*aw*ful.
a	,,	b*u*t
e	,,	wat*e*r
à	,,	c*a*t
ē	French	*été*
è	English	l*e*t.
ī	,,	s*ee*n.
i	,,	b*i*t.
ū and *-u*	,,	b*oo*t.
u	,,	p*u*t.
ō and *-o*	,,	m*o*te.
o	,,	n*o*t.
ai	,,	d*ie*.
au	,,	s*ou*nd.
oi	,,	n*oi*se

ē, ī, ō are not diphthongal as they tend to be in English.

Where a secondary vowel sound is introduced I have represented it by a separate vowel.

ā, ē, ī, ū may be longer or shorter forms of the given quality.

The following are the

Consonants

k, *g*, as in English.	*p*, *b*, *w*/*v*, *f*
χ, voiceless spirant as in Scotch lo*ch*	*č* (*ch*ur*ch*).
γ, voiced spirant corresponding to *χ*.	*ȷ* (*j*udge), *y* (*y*ard).
q, velar.	*s*, *š* (*sh*ut)
t, *d*, as in English	*z*, *ž* (plea*s*ure).
δ, voiced spirant as in English *th*at.	*n*, *m*
	l, *r*, *h*.

The sound represented in the text by *ūñ* would, I think, be more correctly expressed as *ū̃ⁿ* or sometimes merely *ū̃*.

ng followed by a vowel is pronounced *ŋg* as in mo*ng*rel; otherwise the *g* is silent, as in si*nging*

The following summary statement of some of the characteristic features of Ba<u>kh</u>tiārī Phonology and Morphology may be of interest and will facilitate the examination of the text

Phonology

[Bχ = Ba<u>kh</u>tiārī; Mn P. = Modern Persian, O C P = Ordinary Colloquial Persian]

Vowels

Mn P	*ā*	is represented by		Bχ	*ā̊* and frequently *ō*
	ām, *am*	,,	,,		*ūm*, *um*.
	ān	,,	,,		*ūn*, *ū̃*, *ō̃*
	a	,,	,,		*ē*, *ai*, in a few words
	-and	,,	,,		*-an*, *-en*, *-èn*
	ū	,,	,,		*ī*
	u	,,	,,		*i* frequently
	ŭ and *ō* are often used indifferently				

Consonants

Mn P. *-g-* intervocalic frequently represented by Bχ *-y-*
-d- intervocalic frequently represented by Bχ *-δ-* or *-y-* or disappears.

-d final is frequently dropped.
-b- intervocalic and sometimes initial, Bχ. *-w-*.
χ- initial, Bχ. *h-*.
-χt medial and final, Bχ *-hd*, *-δ*, *-d*.
-χm, Bχ. *-hm*, *-m*
-rχ, *-lχ* Bχ *-(h)r*, and *-(h)l*.
γ frequently appears as Bχ *q*.
q frequently appears as Bχ. *γ*.
āb, *ab*, *af* (+ *š*, *s*) } appear as *-au*.
ft in *giriftan*, *guftan*, *raftan* } appears as *-d*, *-hd*, or *-δ*.

(Bχ *girēδan*, *gudan*, *rahdan*, and variants)
-m- medial in some words, Bχ. *-w-*, *-v-*
(This is characteristic also of the Kurdish group, but also occurs in Gabri)
-n sometimes takes after it an excrescent *d*
š appears in some words as *s*
r is sometimes replaced by *l*

In Bχ *h* frequently appears as an inorganic glide between vowels; on the other hand Mn P intervocalic *-h-* usually disappears in Bχ., the vowels then coalescing.

Examples of these and other phenomena will be found in the *Phonology of the Bakhtiāri, Badakhshāni, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, R A S., 1922.

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns denoting *animate beings* have the plural endings *-ūñ* and *-gal*, *-gèl*, *-yèl*.

Those denoting *inanimate things* have their plural in *-ā*.

The *Accusative Suffix*, when expressed, is *-a*, *-e* when following a consonant, and *-na*, *-ne* when following a vowel or *r*.

When there is a dependent adjective or genitive following, the accusative suffix is attached to it.

The Accusative Suffix is expressed when the noun is determinate, but may also be present when the noun is used indefinitely.

e.g *ya dōlū.ēna just* " he sought for an old woman "

The *Genitive* is expressed as in Modern Persian by the use of the *iẓafa i, è, e, a*—which, however, is often omitted, or is absorbed in a contiguous vowel.

The *Dative* and *Ablative* are produced as in Mn P. by the use of the prepositions *bi* for the dat. and *zè, iz, az* for the abl respectively.

A noun that is rendered *definite*, as by a demonstrative adjective or pronominal suffix, or which in English would have the definite article, may take a suffix *-ē*, or sometimes *(-i)kē, -(i)ka.*

A noun used *indefinitely*, as in English with the indefinite article, or denoting one unspecified individual with the numeral *ya(k)* expressed or implied, may take a suffix *-ē, -è, -i, -e*, e.g. *didū ē dåšt* " he had a sister ".

This suffix may give the sense of " any ", " some " · e g. *samerè sī't nadårē* " it has not any advantage for you ".

Owing to their variable and overlapping forms these suffixes, the *iẓafa*, and also the reduced forms of the Conjunction *wo* " and ", viz. *o, e, a* are not always easy to distinguish from each other

The 3rd singular of the enclitic substantive verb " is " is also *ē, è, a*

Pronouns

The Personal Pronouns are :—

Sg. 1. *mū, mo*	2 *tū, to.*	3. *ū, o.*
Pl. 1. *īmå*	2. *īså.*	3. *ūnūñ.*

The enclitic forms are :—

Sg. 1. *-um.*	2. *-it, -at*	3. *-is, -as.*
Pl. 1 *-mūñ.*	2 *-tūñ.*	3. *-sūñ. -sōñ.*

The Demonstratives are :—

Proximate : *this* :

	Sg. *yū, yo.*	Pl.	*yūnūñ.*
	ī		*īnūñ*
Remoter · *that*.	Sg *ū, o*	Pl.	*ūnūñ*

All the forms ending in vowels take the accusative suffix *-na, ne*

ī and *ū* are also used as adjectives

Verbs

The Personal Endings are :—

Sg. 1. *-um*	2. *-ī, -ē*	3 *-ē, -è, -a*
Pl 1 *-īm*	2 *-īn*	3. *-an, -en, -èn*

As in Mn.P the 3rd sing preterite is the simple form of the past base without any personal ending

The Prefix with the present and imperfect indicative is : *i-, è-* in place of the Mn.P *mī-*

The Present also does duty for the future

The Perfect is formed by suffixing *-ē* to the various forms of the Preterite.

The Pluperfect as in Mn P. consists of the past participle followed by the various persons of the past tense of *bīdan* (Mn P. *būdan*), but it is not common in ordinary narrative.

The construction with the past tenses of transitive verbs is active as in Mn P , but the past participle may also be used as a passive participle.

The forms of the Enclitic Substantive Verb are identical with the personal endings given above, but when they are affixed to a word ending with a vowel they take an initial *n-* in the singular

Thus . 1 *-num* 2 *-nī* 3. *-nē*

e.g. *māl i tunum* " I am thy property "

The same probably holds good of the plural

The Mn P. *hast-*, negative *nīst-* " be, exist " is represented by Bχ *hèd-*, *hèδ-* and *nē.iδ-*.

The Mn.P. *šudan* " to become ", does not occur in Bχ ,

and its place is taken by *wō i bīdan* (*wå-*, *wū-*) pres. base: *wō i bū(h)-*, and sometimes by the simple *bīdan*, *bū(h)-*.

Mn.P. *bāšam*, etc, is replaced by the Pres. subj. of *bīdan*, viz. *būhum*, etc.

The Infinitive ending *-istan* is common in Bχ, replacing the Mn.P. *-īdan*

So · Bχ *tersıstan* "to be afraid", Mn P *tersīdan*

There are a few Transitive Verbs with the infinitive in *-nīdan* corresponding to Mn.P. *-ānīdan* or *-āndan*, e.g —

Bχ. *čårnīdan* "to graze" (cattle) Mn P *čarān(ī)dan*
jumnīdan "to shake" *jumbānīdan*

The same infinitive suffix also appears in some Intransitive Verbs:—

e g Bχ *qurumnīdan* "to thunder"
jīknīdan "to cheep"

Hıkå^at i Zan o Havū

Šaχsē az tå.ıfa Dīnårūñ du zēna dåšt, yekī az tåfa Sihīd yèkī az tåfa Gūrū ī kē mahalsuñ Gūrū.ī ba Šēhmin, Sıhīd ba Fålè Zēn' ı Sıhīd gyapter bīd, Gūrū i kučirter. Mērike Gūrū īna bēšter iχåst Ya rūz gud: "Ai Gulıstūñ! mo tune qalavē ıxoᵘm, amå tū qåvıl nē ıδī." Gud: "Čıtaur?" 5
Gud: "Herčē ba tu ıgohum gūš nē ıgırī Waχtī kē gūsındūnmūñ ıyåhen ser a dūñ tū zīter wurē bidūšsuñ kē ū zēna na wuristē, wa χut ham havīr ya šūlwå kē dårīm råst bıkun. Mo az ū zēna qalavē itersum To dīdī dōrī ba mo dåd. Az laj i to munè ıkušē." Gulistūñ ham gud "Ba mın e tē um! Herče 10
tu igūhī gūš ıgirum." Šaursūñ kerden. Dī er herčē mēra's iguδ, hamū kår ıkerd Zēna gyapa χårıj wō ibīd Az qazå Gulistūñ bača ba iškam wō ıbīd. Bād az noh måh avē.id ser ı på. Fišnådan, måmåča avaıd. Zangèl jam wō ibīdan. Yek kurrē Xudå bè's kardmat kèrd Ismas nahådan ba Kundrī. 15
Bād iz čan sål gyap wō ibīdē Kē do sè sål wō ıbīd nåz ba ū ikerdan. (Nåz ba kuras ıkerdan) wa bōzī ıkerdan Zēna gyapa gud: "Xoᵉ, ī mēra mune dī.er nē.ıχo. Wå yek firgē

bukunum. Šau tai'm nē.ıχausē; hama tai ū zēnē iχausē."
20 *Avaidan ya ruz šūlwå dū nahådan ser a čåla. Wurıståd på*ᵉ
hūr. Yè tī mērgyī å az gaubåzūñ ıstaıda bīd, yuna dåšt qoiyum
kèrda, rēdsūñ mın e šūlwå, nıhådas pēš a mērika Tå terıst
zı's χàrd Raᵃd just e hawūñas. Ba koh dōrī aser kerd, hålıs
be yak χerd Bang ı mål kerd kē. "Bī åhīn, muna bıwerīn"
25 *Avaidan, kerdınas ba kūl, burdanas ba hōña Pursīdan:*
*"Čitē?" Gud: "Herčē bīd min e šūlwå*ᵉ*dūγ χèrdum."*
Mūrıšt kerd. Du sè tå lihåf vandan wur rī's. Tå do så at
tau kerd. Zè nū dah rūz dī.er vast, būd az dàh rūz χu wō ıbīd,
amå mērgyı åna χerdè bīd Kušında na bīd. Ådam e majhūl
30 *ikunē Pī å faqēra majhūl kèrd. Dī er ne ba kår ı ī zēna iχard,*
na ba kår ı ū zēna, hamītaur ıgyašt Hålå īmå ıgūhīm kē
ådam na wå bı qaul i zan raftår bukunē, kē zan wafå na dårē,
ba hēčī ådamē az miyūñ ıberē. Ū zēnana χus o kurase judå
kerdan Rāᵃdan ze paı kår χusūñ. Kunårı wå då's o bau.ūs
35 *ser ı yèk manden. Ayer kē her dōña jūr ı yak iχåst ī derde*
nē.ızaıd bè's Wō ıstī jūr ı yèk χåtırsūñ buxō ē; na χåst.
Yèkīne izad bukunē, yakīna ızad nakunē, yō bad kårī a. Pašīmūñ
wō ıbīd, ke "Sī čè ī kårē kerdum, kè sadama buχurum?"
Šau o rūz majhūl bīd, ınıšast hamōčō Kunårī gyap wō ıbīd.
40 *Kištakårē kerd Umūrsūñ iguzašt. Ya dafa wå bå hergyèl*
rāᵃd ser a au. Dīd yèk tīl ı zanē ser a au bīd Au ruft bi mašk
Bè's gud. "Terī buzyèl idūšī? Terī serase binūšī? Terī
bår ıberī būñ? Terī yè tī bıdīmūñ?" Zēnıkē gud: "ai
*hōña χaråb! Ī qazer wılıngår na*ᵉ *bū Rasm ı Baχtī.årī yū*
45 *nē.ıδ kē to her gō ē dılat iχō buχurī. Ayer kē gyauyèlum*
bifahmen kē tū ī herfå ba mu zaidī, tåza dah nafer ımīrē. Birau
yak zēnē bıstūñ Tū jåhılı, fām naddårī. Xaiyål nakunī kē
'yo zēnè wa mo mēr'um' Gyauyèlum bimīran! Ba arwå
bau.um! kē ayer kē ya dafa dī er z'ī herfå bızanīn ba hamīñ
50 *berd mazg i serat e ba dahūñat ıwanum Tuχm ı to her'umē."*
Kunårī tai χus χaıyål kerd kē dıl e qåfil χuv igō. Ayer kē
merdum bıfāman jang e qål ibūhē. U waχt rāᵃd taı tåt'ıs. Sad
tuman šīrbōhī dåd. Dōδer i tåt'is e ıstaıd, χaılı såhav daulat
wō ıbīd. Bunyåd kèrd ba jallåvkešī. Iχerīd, ıferōᵘδ, yānē

kauwa iχerīd, šīšak kē wō ıbīdan ıferō.udsūñ. Baχtıs ham 55
ōvērd ; do kur gīris ōvēd az dōδer i tåt'ıs. Ismase nahåd Ōli,
o yakī dī.er Mahmīd. Ī dō tåna ba ya ıškam ovērdsūñ. Sako
ba anddåza hazår hōña hèden az tåfa Dīndrūn, kē az hamū nū
ber på wō ıbīdan. Ism e tåᵃfasuñ, Ålī Mahmīdī merdum igōhen.
Naqd germsēr Sūsin mahal dåren. Aılåq På i Tauwa Dōverår. 60

Tamōm wō ıbīd

Notes on Text

havū, habbū, a co-wife in a polygynous household.

1 *Dındrūñ,* usually *Dīnārūnı* (دیناروني), one of the four main tribal divisions of the Haftlang Bakhtiāri, of which the Sihīd (سهید ?) and Gūrū.ı are sections

The other three main tribes are the Dūrakī, Båbådī, and Bēdårwand (i.e Baxtı.ārwand).

3. *gyap* and *kučīr* correspond in meaning to Mn.P. *buzurg* and *kučīk.*

mērıke : *mēra* "husband". The suffix -(*i*)*ka*, -(*ı*)*ke*, -(*i*)*kē* here and frequently has the force of the definite article "the husband", cf. l 22 and *zēnıkē*, l. 43.

4. *Gūrū.īna* : *-na*, *-ne*, *-nè* is the form of the Accusative suffix when following a vowel cf. "tune", l. 5.

Following a consonant it is *-a*, *-e*, cp. *ū zēna-na χus o kurase judå kerdan*, l. 33.

iχåst } 3rd sing. imperfect } here "to love".
iχoᵘm } 1st sing. present } of *χåstan* "to desire, wish",

5. *qalavē, qalava* "very, very much", Ar P. *γalaba* which is not, as far as I know, used in colloquial Persian, but is found in Parāči with the meaning "many, much, very", v. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol i, 1929, p. 255.

qåvıl, Mn.P. *qābil* "competent, worthy"

nē.iδī, Mn.P *nīstī*, cf *nē.ıδ*, l. 45, and *hèden*, l. 58.

7. *iyåhen*, Mn.P. *mī.āyand.*

zīter, Mn.P. *zūdter*. The comparative is often used with practically the same force as the positive

wurē } imperative } of *wuristādan*
9. *wuristē* } 3rd sing. pres. subj }

Which corresponds in sense to Mn P *berχᵛāstan* (*berχīz-*) But it seems often to denote merely "to proceed to" do something, "to set about" an action.

χut = *χudat*, *havīr* = *χamīr*, *šūlwā* = *šūrbā*.

dōrī = *dārū*

10 *munè* = *marā* acc. of *mu*, *mo* "I", cf ll 18, 24.

ikušē = *mīkušad*. The future is expressed in Bχ by the present tense

min e tē um = *miyān i čašmam*. In ordinary Persian simply *čašm*!

11 *šaursūñ kerdan* "they took counsel with each other". *mašwarat bā ham dīgar kerdand*.

The *sūñ* (= *-šān*) here looks very like the agential pronoun which is found in some dialects, e g Gabri, but this construction certainly does not occur in Bχ. as a regular or recognized phenomenon.

Cf Gabri (*iyē*) *šo vōt* "they said"

dī er = *dīgar*

12 *gyapa* the *-a* here is equivalent to the definite article: "the senior wife".

wō ibīd (also *wā-*, *wā-*) = *šud* "(she) became".

13. *avē id ser i pā*: *avē id* = *āmad* This phrase is regularly used of a woman when child-birth is imminent

14 *fišnādan* = *firistādand* Pres base *-fišn-*.

zangèl: *-gèl*, *-gal*, *-gyèl*, *-yèl* is a common plural suffix with nouns denoting animate beings

Cf *hergyèl*, l. 40, and *buzyèl*, l. 42.

15 *kurrē*: *kur* + *ē* = "a son".

16. *wō ibīdē*, 3rd sing. perfect

The text seems confused *bād iz* *wō ibīdē* should probably follow *bōzi ikerdan* and *nāz ba kuras ikerdan* should be struck out as redundant.

18 *χo° = χūb.*
nē.iχo = namīχ°āhad.
wå yek firgē bukunum = bāyad yak fikrī bikunam, cf. *na wå . bukunē,* l. 32
tai = " in " or " to, the presence of (a person) ".

20. *avaidan = āmadand,* but here at most means " they proceed to (set) . " Probably the sense is " it happened that they "
šūlwå dū, a dish made of rice, water, and sour milk (*dūγ*) Etymologically *šūlwå* is identical with *šūrbā.*
čåla " camp fireplace ", a hole made in the ground with stones placed round three sides of it
wuriståd på . " got up (and went) to "

21. *hūr = χūr.*
yè tī " a little " ; *yak kamī, yak χurda i*
mērgyi å " a kind of drug " (*dawā*) given to an unloving husband whom it makes go mad.
gyi å is perhaps *giyāh* " grass, herb ", and *mēr* may be *mēra* " husband ".
gaubåz = Mn P. *kaulī.*
istaida bīd : plup. of *istēdan* pres base *istōn-, istun-* " to take ", " to get ".
Mn.P *sitāndan,* cf *bistūñ,* l 47
yuna acc. of *yu, yo* " this ", cf ll 44, 48.
qoiyum = qāyim " concealed ".

22 *rēdsūñ = rīχtšān*
tå terist zi's χàrd : *teristan* pres base *-ter-* " to be able " *χàrd* = ordinary Persian *χurd* " As far as he was able, he ate of it ", i.e. " he ate his fill ".

23. *rā°d just e . . . = raft ba just o ju i .*
hålis ba yak χerd = OCP *ḥālaš bāham χurd.*

24. *bī.åhīn = bi.āyīd.* Note the 2nd pl. ending in *-īn,* which is regular in Bχ. and is a characteristic of the Kurdish dialects. It also occurs elsewhere as in Kermāni and Samnāni.

26. *čitē ? = či + at + e* " what to thee is ? "

27. *mūrišt* = *larz*.
vandan. *vandan* pres. base *van-*, *vèn* "to throw", cf. *ivanum*, l. 50. Cf. Gabri *vanōdmūn*.
wur rī's OCP. *rūyaš*.

28. *zè nū* = "afresh", "again". The meaning is apparently that *after* the fever he was laid up for ten days.
vast is equivalent to Mn.P. *uftād*. The root is no doubt similarly *pat-*.

29 *majhūl* explained as *dīwāna*, but apparently means "imbecile" rather than "mad".

30. *pi å* denotes an "ordinary tribesman".

32 Such anti-woman reflections are not infrequent in Ba<u>kh</u>tiāri stories, which appear to be man-made

34. *då* "mother"; *bau*, *bau ū* "father".

35. *ayer kē* for the ordinary Persian *ager*, cf ll 45, 49, 51. Similarly in Khowār as a borrowed word *ager ki*.

36 *wō.istī* "he ought to have" The past of *wå*, Mn P. *bāyast*.

37 *izad* = '*izzat*
a = *ast*

38 *sī* "for", "on account of", Mn.P *berā i*.

39. *hamōčō* "that same place", *uču*, *očo*, etc "there", *īču* "here".

40 *wå bå* the usual Bχ. equivalent of Mn P. *bā* "with", "along with".
For *wå* alone, vide l. 34, *wå då's*.
hergyèl, pl. of *her* = Mn.P *χar* "donkey"

41. *tīl i zanē* "a young married woman", as opposed to an unmarried girl.
au ruft probably for *au iruft* "she was sweeping", i.e. "scooping up", "water" into the mouth of a water-skin.

42 *bè's* OCP. *bi* + *aš*, *bèš*.
terī 2nd sing. pres. without prefix of *teristan* "to be able", cf. l. 22.

The dependent verb is normally put in the pres. subj. with the prefix *bi-*. In this passage the indic. prefix

i- in *idūšī* and *iberī* is peculiar. It will be noted that in these cases the preceding word ends in a consonant.

This rhymed and obscure speech probably presents some archaic " double entendre ".

43. *yè tī*, cf. l. 21, here and similarly in another text seems to be a euphemism for " sexual gratification ".

44. *qazər* Ar.P. " *qadr* "
wılıngâr glossed " herza " Perhaps *wıl* + *angār* " loose imagination ".

47. *tu jâhıli* : *jâhıl* is used in Bχ for " young man ", " youth " ; " young, immature ".

50 *berd* is the regular Bχ. word for " stone ". *mazg* = *maγz*. This forcible expression occurs elsewhere and is no doubt based on the actual experience of people who frequently indulge in Homeric conflicts with stones
herum = Ar Pers. *ḥarām*

51. *qâfil* Ar Pers. *γāfil*

52. *jang e qâl* : *e* is here for *wa*, *o* " and ". It frequently represents the *ıẓāfa*, and it is often difficult to be sure which it is.
tât'ıs : *tâta* = " father's brother " The marriage of the children of brothers appears to be the normal thing among the Bakhtıārı

53. *šīrbōhī* " the milk price ", a payment made by the bridegroom to the bride's father before marriage, supposed to be on account of the mother's milk on which the girl was reared. The word appears in various forms ending in *-ī*, and also as *šīrbahâ* (*šīr* + *bahā*). The change of *-â* to *-ī* is peculiar
sâhav = *ṣāḥıb*.

54. *jallâv* " young stock ", 1 to 2 years old The term is used of sheep, bulls, goats.
ıferōᵘδ = Mn P. *mīferūχt*.

55. *kawwa*, lamb, one year old or less.
baχtıs ōvērd : *ōvērd* = *āward*.
I cannot corroborate this curious idiom by other instances of its use

56. *Ōlī* and l. 59. *Ålī* (not *'Alī*) The tribal name is written عالي محمودي in the "*Kitāb i Tārīx i Baχti.ārī.*"

57. *ba ya iškam ovērdsūñ*, i e "they were twins", Bχ. *jumū*. *sako* = "now"

60. *naqd* OCP. *naqdan*
ailåq = *yēlāx*, *yēlāq*.
Tauwa *Dōverår*. *tauwa* = "cliff"
dōverår, *dōberår* = "a kind of eagle"
cf. Phillott, s v "eagle" and Steingass s v *du birādarān*.

Translation

The Story of the Wife and her Partner

A man of the Dīnārūni Tribe had two wives. One from the Sihīd section and one from the Gūrū i. The Gūrū i have their quarters at Shēmīn, and the Sihīd at Fālè

The Sihīd wife was the senior and the Gūrū i the junior The husband loved the Gūrū i best

One day he said to her "O Gulistūn, I love you very much but you don't deserve it." "How ?" said she. "You pay no attention to anything I say When our sheep come in to the milking-place you must get up and milk them quickly before the other wife gets up, and do you too prepare the dough or soup we have I am very much afraid of the other wife, you have seen how she gave me poison Out of jealousy of you she will kill me."

"On my eyes be it," said Gulistūn, "I shall pay attention to everything you say."

They took counsel together, and thereafter she did every thing exactly as her husband said The elder wife was kept out of things.

As it chanced Gulistūn conceived and after nine months she was confined. They sent off and a midwife came and the women-folk assembled. God bestowed on her a boy and they named him Kunāri

After some years he had grown big When he was two or three years old they fondled him and played with him.

The senior wife said. "Good, this husband no longer loves

me. I must think what is to be done. He does not sleep with me at night, he always sleeps with that woman."

They came one day and put some "*shūlwā dūgh*" on the fire to cook. Then she got up and sent to the saddle-bag (in which) she kept hidden a little "*mērgyīa*" she had got from the gypsies.

She poured it into the *shūlwā*, and placed the latter before her husband. He ate his fill of it. Then he went off to look for his cattle. Up on the hill the drug took effect, and he was taken ill.

He shouted out to the camp. "Come and carry me down" They came and took him up on their backs, and carried him to his home.

They asked: "What's the matter with you?" He said: "Whatever it was I ate it in the *shūlwā dūgh*."

He began to shiver, and they threw two or three quilts over him. For two hours he had fever. Then again for another ten days he was prostrated.

At the end of the ten days he recovered, but he had eaten the *mērgyiā*. It was not mortal, but it makes one go off one's head, and it made this poor man an imbecile.

After that he was of no use either to the one wife or to the other, and in this state he continued to go about

Now we say that a man should not act on what a woman says, for woman is faithless, for no reason at all she destroys a man.

They ejected that wife, herself and her son. They went off about their own business.

Kunāri and his mother and father remained together.

If the man had loved both wives alike this suffering would not have come upon him. He ought to have loved them alike, but he did not. To honour one wife and not to honour the other is a bad thing.

The man repented (what he had done, and said): "Why did I do this thing, so that I (now) suffer misfortune?"

Night and day he was out of his mind and (in that state) he continued to dwell there.

Kunāri grew up. He tilled the land. (And so) their affairs went on.

(It chanced that) he went once with the donkeys to the water-side and there he saw a young married woman. She was filling water into a *mashk*. He spoke to her and said: "Can you milk goats? Can you eat their heads? Can you carry a load up on to the roof? Can you give me a little something?"

The woman replied: "Ah, ruin on your house! Do not be so abandoned. It is not the custom of the Bakhtiāri that you should eat all the filth your heart desires. If my brothers were to know that you had said such things to me straightway ten men would die. Go and get yourself a wife. You are a mere boy and have no sense. Don't go thinking 'she is a woman and I am a man'. Death to my brothers! By the soul of my father (I swear) that if ever again you say such things to me I'll dash your brains into your mouth with this stone here! You are of bastard birth"

Kunāri thought to himself: "She is right in calling me thoughtless. If people come to know this there will be strife and quarrelling."

Thereupon he went off to his paternal uncle. He gave him 100 *tumāns* as bride-price and took his uncle's daughter (to wife).

In course of time he became possessed of much wealth. He took to stock-rearing. He kept buying and selling, that is, he bought yearling lambs and sold them when they were two years old.

His fortune prospered. He had two sons by his uncle's daughter. He called the one Āli and the other Mahmīd.

She gave birth to these two at one time.

Now there are about 1,000 houses of the Dīnārūni Tribe who have come into existence in this way. People call their tribe the Āli Mahmīdi.

At the present time they have their winter quarters at Sūsin, and their summer quarters at Pā i Tauwa i Dōverār.

The Story is Ended.

The Date of the Yoga-sūtras

BY JWALA PRASAD

CONSIDERING the fact that the Mīmāmsā, the Vedānta, the Sāmkhya, and the Yoga schools owe their origin directly to the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and the Upaniṣads, it may be expected that the doctrines of these would have been systematized and put together into the form of the *Sūtras* earlier than those of the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya schools, the essential tenets of which had their beginnings in a later and different kind of literature. This expectation, however, seems to be belied by the fact that the present *Sāṃkhya-sūtras* have been proved to belong to a very late period, as late as the fourteenth century A.D ; and the *Yoga-sūtras* are now believed by a number of scholars, following Professors Jacobi and Woods, to be as late as the fourth or fifth century A.D. Now, while the gap of an early systematic work on the Sāmkhya is filled up by the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, or it may be explained by the surmise that there was an early *Sūtra* work, either a shorter form of the present one or altogether different from it, which is lost,[1] the *Yoga-sūtras* are all that we have as a systematic exposition of the Yoga doctrines, and there is no reason to believe that they were preceded by another work of a similar nature. The question, then, is whether the systematization of such an early school of thought as the Yoga would have been postponed until as late as the fourth or fifth century A.D , and until after the systematization of the doctrines of even the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya schools, which began later on, and the *Sūtras* of which definitely contain a reference to the Yoga doctrines of mystic intuition and concentration.

The arguments adduced for the late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* are mainly those given by Professor Jacobi in his

[1] Cf. "Antiquity of the Sāṃkhya-sūtras," by Udaya Vira, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, vol. i, pp. 104–6.

article on the Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras,[1] and these I propose to consider presently.

Professor Jacobi's arguments may be summarized as follows :—

1. A discussion of the Buddhist denial of the external world in *YS.* iv, 15 f., indicates that these *sūtras* refer to the Buddhist doctrine of *Vijñāna-vāda*, and hence Patañjali must be later than the middle of the fifth century A D.

2. That the Patañjali of the *Yoga-sūtras* is different from the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* bearing the same name, and hence, "the only argument for the great antiquity of the *Yoga-sūtras* is fallacious".

3. There are certain doctrines in the *YS.* which are not countenanced by the Sāṃkhya and the early Yoga, and which hence have been adopted by Patañjali from other systems; and this fact indicates that the *YS.* belong to a late period. The doctrines alluded to are explained by Jacobi as follows :—

(*a*) The doctrine of *sphota* has been adopted from the Vaiyākaraṇas ; it is expounded in the *Bhāṣya ad YS.* iii, 17.

(*b*) The doctrine of the infinite size of the *antaḥkaraṇa* seems to have been adopted from the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. It is given in the *Bhāṣya* on *YS.* iv, 10, and there ascribed to the "*Ācārya*".

(*c*) The atomic theory, which originally belonged to the Vaiśesika, is clearly referred to by Patañjali in *YS.* i, 40 (cf *Bhāṣya* on iii, 44).

(*d*) The doctrine that time consists of *kṣanas,* which was first put forth by the Sautrāntikas, is clearly assumed in iii, 52, though the details are explained in the *Bhāṣya* only.

A Criticism of the above Arguments

The first argument is evidently based upon the assumptions that (*a*) there is a refutation of *Vijñāna-vāda* in *YS.* iv, 15 ff. ; and (*b*) that it is the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Vasubandhu which is refuted. As regards the first of these it will appear that it is only the *Sūtra, na caika-citta-tantraṃ vastu tad apramāṇakaṃ tadā kiṃ syāt* which lends support to the view that *Vijñāna-vāda* is refuted. There is nothing either in the preceding *sūtra* or the following one to indicate definitely that there is reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in this context. The *Sūtra* iv, 15, is : *vastu-sāmye citta-bhedāt tayor viviktaḥ*

[1] *Journal of American Oriental Society*, xxxi, 1911.

panthāḥ, of which a faithful rendering into English will be, "because of the difference of the intellect (thoughts), the object being the same (or similar), the path of the two is different." It will appear that neither the Sanskrit commentators nor modern scholars have faithfully followed the wording of the *sūtra* in commenting upon it, or translating it into English.[1] The author of the *Bhāṣya* is prepossessed with the notions of *Vijñāna-vāda* and its refutation in this section of the *YS.*, so much so that he starts a discussion on the subject even in his comments upon the previous *Sūtra*; iv, 14: *pariṇāmaikatvād vastu-tattvam*, which has not even the semblance of having anything to do with *Vijñāna-vāda* or its refutation, and hence the remark by Vācaspati Miśra: *tad evam utsūtraṃ bhāṣyakṛd vijñānātirikta-sthāpana-yuktim uktvā sautrīṃ yuktim avatārayati-*, "so having thus gone beyond the *sūtra* in giving the reason for establishing something besides knowledge, now the author of the *Bhāṣya* introduces the argument as given in the *sūtra* itself," i.e. in iv, 15 The interpretation of the first commentator has since been followed by the later ones, and by modern scholars. It will appear, however, that the *sūtra* in itself is evidently intended to say that the same or similar object of a certain nature (according to the combination of the three constituents- *guṇas* : *sattva, rajas*, and *tamas*) affects different minds differently because of the difference in the nature of those minds; the main point emphasized being not the *diversity of minds* but the *difference of mentality*. The term *citta-bhedāt* in the *sūtra* may signify "difference of intellect (thoughts)" with reference to one and the same individual, *or* different individuals, as the case may be. For, one and the same individual may

[1] E g. Rajendralal Mitra: "Even in the sameness of object the course (courses ?) of the two are distinct, from *diversity* of the thinking principle," *Bibl. Indica* edition, and Woods, "Because, while the (physical) thing remains the same the mind-stuffs are different (therefore the two are upon) *distinct levels of existence*," "Yoga System of Patañjali", *HOS*.

In the above translations I find no justification for the renderings italicized by me.

also be said to have different "minds" according as he happens to be in the mood of *sattva, rajas,* or *tamas,* and to be, therefore, affected differently by one and the same, or a similar object; and such a case also is evidently covered by the *sūtra.* This interpretation is confirmed by the context of the two previous *sūtras,*[1] and is also supported by the example given by the commentators that the presence of a young woman affects different men in a different manner according to the character of those men. Similarly, *Sūtra* iv, 17: *tad uparāgāpekṣitvād asya vastu jñātājñātam* simply asserts that a thing is known or not known according as it produces an impression upon the mind or not; and there is no reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in it, even according to the commentators. As has already been said, it is only *Sūtra* iv, 16: *na caika-citta-tantraṃ vastu tad apramāṇakam tadā kiṃ syāt-,* "nor is an object dependent upon one intellect; that (being) not a proof, what would happen then?", which lends support to the view that there is a refutation of *Vijñāna-vadā* in this section, or in the *Yoga-sūtra.* Now, it is interesting to find that this *sūtra* has not only been not commented upon by Bhoja, the author of the *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa-vṛtti,* but evidently not treated by him as a *sūtra* at all; for it does not appear in the editions of his *Vṛtti,* and *Sūtra* iv, 17, as found in the editions of the *Bhāṣya,* and Vācaspati Miśra's commentary has been numbered as *Sūtra* iv, 16, and so on. This omission of the *sūtra* by Bhoja clearly indicates that the copy or copies of the *Yoga-sūtras* which he used did not contain this *sūtra.*[2] What could be the explanation then of the appearance of this *sūtra* in the editions of the other commentators? Considering that Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra were the predecessors of Bhoja, it is improbable that he should not have known their commentaries, and should not have been aware of this

[1] *YS.* iv, 13: *te vyakta-sūkṣmāḥ guṇātmānaḥ*; and iv, 14: *pariṇāmai-katvād vastu-tattvam,* in which an object is said to be composed of the three constituents of *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas.*

[2] Cf. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy,* i, p. 233, note 1.

sūtra, had it been regarded as a *sūtra* in his time; and yet we have the commentaries on this *sūtra* by both Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra in the editions that have come down to us. The only explanation of this discrepancy is that the clause *na caika-citta-tantram vastu tad-apramāṇakam tadā kiṃ syāt* was originally a line in the middle of the *Bhāṣya* on *Sūtra* iv, 15, immediately following the last sentence of what is now regarded as the *Bhāṣya* on iv, 15, viz. *ta etayā dvārā sādhāraṇatvaṃ bādhamānāḥ pūrvottara-kṣaṇeṣu vastu-svarūpam evāpahnuvate*, and the *Bhāsya* on iv, 15, really ended with the last sentence of what is now regarded as the *Bhāsya* on iv, 16. Similarly, the comment of Vācaspati Miśra on iv, 15 and 16, according to the present editions also originally must have formed one entire comment on iv, 15; and it was in this form that the *Yoga-sūtra* and the commentaries of Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra must have been known to Bhoja. It was only later on that, either by mistake or otherwise, this particular clause in the *Bhāṣya* came to be treated as a separate *sūtra*, and the commentaries were also divided accordingly. This mistake, or misinterpretation, could not have been possible in the case of Bhoja's commentary, for it is of an independent nature and does not usually follow or repeat the texts of the previous commentaries; and hence the edition of the *Yoga-sūtra* as found with his commentary may be regarded as authentic. This explanation of the discrepancy about *Sūtra* iv, 16, is rendered more than plausible by the further facts that: (*a*) the clause which is regarded as *Sūtra* iv, 16, now does not read like a *sūtra* at all; (*b*) it quite fits in with the context, if it is regarded as a part of the *Bhāṣya* immediately following the last line of the present *Bhāṣya* on iv, 15; and (*c*) the present commentaries of Vyāsa and Vācaspati Miśra on iv, 15 and 16, if treated as commentaries only on iv, 15, and read together, form one continuous whole without the slightest indication that those latter portions which are supposed to belong to iv, 16, could not have been a part of the commentaries on iv, 15.

It is rather curious that this discrepancy about *YS.* iv, 16, which is so important for the point under discussion, has not been mentioned at all by either Professor Jacobi or Professor Woods.

If what has been said above about *Sūtra* iv, 16, be true, there is no reason to believe that independently of the commentaries the *Yoga-sūtras* contain a refutation of *Vijñāna-vāda* at all Further, even if there were a reference to *Vijñāna-vādā* in any of the *Yoga-sūtras*, no argument has been given by either Jacobi or Woods to show that it is the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Vasubandhu which is meant. "We cannot, it is true," says Professor Woods, "maintain that the *Vijñāna-vāda* here attacked by the *sūtra* must be the idealism of Vasubandhu"[1]; and then again he rightly admits that "there surely were idealists before him, just as there were pre-Patañjalian philosophers of Yoga".[2] All this admission, coupled with the fact that the very authenticity of the *Sūtra* iv, 16, is extremely doubtful, takes away the force of the whole argument for a late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* based upon the fact that there is a reference to *Vijñāna-vāda* in them

Before I pass on to the next argument I wish to utilize this opportunity of pointing out one thing about references to *Vijñāna-vāda* in particular and other doctrines in general. It will appear that in the Philosophical *Sūtras* when a certain doctrine other than its own is mentioned or criticized the name of the author or the school of thought to which it belongs is seldom mentioned. It is only in the commentaries that specific names are mentioned, and it is found that whenever there is the slightest scope for interpreting a *sūtra* as referring to, and providing a criticism of, what may be called by the general name of *Nirālambana-vāda*, the commentators are only too eager to put it down as containing an argument against the *Vijñāna-vāda* or the *Śūnya-vāda* of Buddhism. Now the fact that in most cases the *Sūtras* were composed or compiled much earlier than the date of the commentators, and that their authors have not mentioned any particular names while criticising doctrines different from their own, should be a warning against reposing an unqualified confidence

[1] *Yoga System of Patañjali*, Introd., xvi.
[2] Ibid., xviii.

in the interpretations of the commentators. This should be the more so because most of the early commentators lived and wrote their commentaries at a time when the Hindu-Buddhistic polemics were at their highest, and the Hindu writers were only too glad to use anything which they could lay their hands on as a missile against their opponents. Let us take, for instance, general references in the *Sūtras* to an idealistic doctrine such as has been called *Vijñāna-vāda* in Buddhism, even where they actually exist. The usual tendency is to suppose, often without any arguments or proofs, that they must be to Vasubandhu's *Vijñāna-vāda*, although it is also admitted at the same time that there was *Vijñāna-vāda* in Buddhism even before Vasubandhu. Further, it seems to have seldom occurred to scholars that such *sūtras* may not refer to any particular school or author at all, and may simply have in view the idealistic position in general, or, again, they may refer to such idealism as is found in some of the early *Upaniṣads*. That besides the *Vijñāna-vāda* of Buddhism there was also an old Hindu theory of idealism, even of the type of the Buddhistic *Vijñāna-vāda*, in so far as the doctrine of mind-dependent reality is concerned, is a fact which has to be admitted, but which usually seems to be forgotten by scholars when discussing references to the idealistic doctrines in the *Sūtra* literature. For example, the philosophy of such an early work as the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* is as good a *Vijñāna-vāda* as any other could be. All things of the world are described as knowledge (*prajñānam*) and having their existence only in and through knowledge—*sarvaṃ tat prajñā-netram, prajñāne pratiṣṭhitaṃ, prajñā-netro lokaḥ, prajñā pratiṣṭhā, prajñānaṃ brahma.*[1] Similarly the denial of plurality and the doctrine of absolute existence in such Upanisads as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* very much approximate the doctrine of illusory existence as found in the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism. Both these doctrines, even as they were to be found in Hinduism, would not be tolerated by such later realistic schools as were represented by the Philosophical *Sūtras*; and what wonder if, when the authors of the *Sūtras* discussed these, they should have had these Hindu doctrines only, or also, in view.

The second argument given by both Jacobi and Woods for the late date of the *Yoga-sūtras* is that the author of the *Yoga-sūtras* is different from that of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Now, even granting that this view about the authorship of the

[1] *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*, ii, 6; *Ait. Upaniṣad*, iii, 3, 3.

YS. be true,[1] I do not see how this by itself can prove that the date of the *YS.* is late, or cannot be earlier than the fourth or fifth century A.D. The question of the date of the author of the *YS.* still remains undecided and open. It may be late, or it may be early.

The arguments 3 (*a*) and 3 (*b*) based upon the presence in the *Bhāṣya* of a reference to the doctrines of *sphoṭa* and the infinite size of the *antahkaraṇa* are admitted by Jacobi himself to be weak, for no reference of this kind is to be found in the *Sūtras* themselves. Speaking of the first he says: "This theory is, however, not directly mentioned in the *Sūtra*, and *its introduction rests entirely on the authority of the Bhāṣya*"[2]; and about the second: "It is given in the *Bhāsya* on iv, 10, and there ascribed to the '*Ācārya*'."[2] I have only to add that it is evident that these references prove nothing with regard to the date of the *Sūtras*.

The next arguments are 3 (*c*) and 3 (*d*), viz. that the atomic theory is referred to in *YS* i, 40 . *paramāṇu-parama-mahattvānto 'sya vaśīkārah*, and the doctrine of *kṣaṇas* in *YS.* iii, 52 . *kṣaṇa-tat-kramayoḥ saṃyamād vivekajaṃ jñānam.* In connection with these references Jacobi says: "The *Sphoṭa-vāda* and the *Mano-vaibhava-vāda* (1 and 2) may be later additions to the system, but the *Paramāṇu-vāda* and the *Ksaṇika-vāda* must be ascribed to Patañjali and cannot be later than him."[2] Now again, even granting what Jacobi says here with regard to these references, I am unable to see how they can prove that the *Yoga-sūtras* belong to a late date, unless it could be shown that these doctrines belong to a late period. On the other hand, Jacobi's own statements in the article under discussion indicate, what is really true about them, that they can be traced back to quite an early period, in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Speaking about the adopting of these doctrines by Patañjali he says: "That he did adopt

[1] However, see Dasgupta on this point, *History of Indian Philosophy*, i, pp 231–2.

[2] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28; italics are mine.

them, directly or indirectly, from the Vaiśeṣikas and Buddhists, though of course not in their original form, presupposes that these doctrines had somehow ceased to be shibboleths of hostile schools, and that the general idea underlying them had been acknowledged by other philosophers too. We know that this has been the case with regard to the atomic theory which has also been admitted by Buddhists, Jainas, Ājīvakas, and some Mīmāṃsakas".[1] The conception of *aṇu* is expressly found in some of the earlier *upaniṣads* also, e.g. in *Kaṭha* ii, 20, *aṇor aṇīyān*; or in *Muṇḍaka* ii, 2, 2, *yad aṇubhyo 'ṇu.*[2] Similarly, about what Jacobi calls *kṣaṇika-vāda*, and what really is the use of *kṣaṇa* in the sense of a moment, he admits that "the *kṣaṇika-vāda*, in an altered and restricted form, has been adopted by the Vaiśeṣikas",[3] the *Sūtras* of whose school, according to Jacobi, are earlier than the *Yoga-sūtras*. Then, after having made all these statements, he concludes: "This adoption of originally heterodox doctrines by Patañjali therefore unmistakably points to a relatively modern time." Now, even if it be granted that Patañjali was the first to introduce these doctrines into the Yoga system, this fact does not prove that he belonged to a late date; for the doctrines of *aṇu* and *kṣaṇa* have to be admitted to belong to quite an early period, even on Jacobi's own statements, and they might have been imported into the Yoga at any reasonable time even before the fourth or fifth century A.D.; for instance, at about the same time as they were imported into the Vaiśeṣika system.

Professor Woods' argument,[4] based upon *Sūtra* ii, 52, of Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* does not prove anything definite. In fact, the *TS.* ii, 52: *aupapattika-carama-dehottamapuruṣa-saṃkheya-varṣāyuṣo 'napavartyāyuṣaḥ* cannot

[1] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28.

[2] Also *Chānd.* iii, 14, 3; *Bṛhad.* iv, 1, 1; vi, 3, 13.

[3] *JAOS.* xxxi, p. 28.

[4] *Yoga System of Patañjali*, Introduction.

be said to refer to *YS.* iii, 22 : *sopakramaṃ nirupakramaṃ ca karma tat-saṃyamād aparānta-jñānam ariṣṭebhyo vā.* So far as the two *sūtras* are concerned they have neither the affinity of language nor of thought. The one (*TS.* ii, 52) discusses the period of life of the various kinds of beings, and the other (*YS.* iii, 22) the attainment of a certain kind of yogic merit, *siddhi.* What we find is that Umāsvāti in his own commentary on *TS.* ii, 52, uses the terms *sopakrama* and *nirupakrama*, which are also found in *YS.* iii, 22, and uses the illustrations found in the *Yoga-bhāṣya* of this *Yoga-sūtra.* Now there can be two alternative explanations of this : either (1) Umāsvāti had in his mind this particular *Yoga-sūtra* and the *Yoga-bhāṣya* on it while writing his commentary on *TS.* ii, 52 ; or, (2) he used the terms *sopakrama* and *nirupakrama* and the illustrations independently simply because they were known to him as apt and usual in connection with the topic which he was discussing, just as in logic so many of us use such familiar examples as "Man is mortal", "Socrates is a man," etc. Now, if the first alternative be true, it only proves that Umāsvāti was later than the *Yoga-sūtras* and possibly also the *Yoga-bhāṣya* ; and the *Yoga-sūtras* might belong to any date before Umāsvāti, late or early. And, if the second alternative be true, which is more probable, it proves nothing with regard to the relation between Umāsvāti and the author of the *Yoga-sūtras.* Professor Woods, however, argues on the authority of Professor Stcherbatskoi that, as Dinnāga (about A.D. 550, according to Woods' estimate) does not seem to know anything of Patañjali, he could not be much earlier. As regards this argument, it has to be noted, firstly, that our knowledge of Dinnāga and his works is still very imperfect and incomplete ; secondly, there might have been no occasion for Dinnāga to refer to Patañjali ; and thirdly, the clear implication of this argument, if it be accepted, is that Patañjali was later than Dinnāga, and consequently the date of the *Yoga-sūtras* is to be pushed still further to about the seventh century A.D. ! This goes against Professor Woods' own state-

ment, in which he says: "The date for Siddhasena is set by Professor Jacobi (*ZDMG*. 60, 289, Leipzig, 1906, reprint, p. 3, *Eine Jaina-Dogmatik*) at the middle or end of the sixth century. Umāsvāti precedes him; and Patañjali the philosopher would not be later than A.D. 400 and might be much earlier."

It is evident that very little can be proved about the date of the *Yoga-sūtras* by alluding to the presence in them of such philosophical doctrines as can be traced back to a very early period, or again by referring to such authors or works containing references to the *Yoga-sūtras* as belong to a late period. The arguments based upon both these kinds of references leave a very wide margin both for the earlier and the later limits Besides references to particular authors or doctrines, another criterion for determining the relative dates of certain works can be a comparison of their philosophical position with regard to such problems as may be common to them. For example, for determining the relative dates of the Philosophical *Sūtras* one such problem may be the theory of the means of knowledge (the *pramāṇas*). We know that of all the Philosophical *Sūtras* it is to be found in the most developed form in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, and also that all the works which we definitely know to be later than the *Nyāya-sūtras*, and which have dealt with the *pramāṇas*, show evident signs of being influenced by the theory of the *Nyāya-sūtras*. On the other hand, the theory of the *pramāṇas*, as found in the *Sūtras* of the other schools, is clearly of a primitive nature. The *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Vedānta-sūtras* hardly contain anything which may be called the theory of the *pramāṇas*; the *Yoga-sūtras* are a little better; and the position of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras* appears to be just preliminary to the theory as found in the *Nyāya-sūtras*.



Arab Weather Prognostics

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THE majority of Arab weather prognostics are, as might be expected, concerned with the winter season, when the changeable weather gives scope for forecasting. The summer months in most Arabic-speaking lands are rainless, and except for wind changes offer little or no field for the activity of the weather prognosticator. The sun and moon, the stars, the rainbow, mist, dew, thunder and lightning, birds and insects all form constituents in Arabic weather forecasts.

Sun

1. "The 'sun-house' is a rain bringer" دار الشمس مطارة [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla): Cana'an, 289]. The "sun-house" is the halo A halo round the sun is a sure sign of rain.

2. "The sun is 'banished'" الشمس مطرودة [Palestine: Cana'an, 289]. A term used of the sun when it shines pale through the clouds. This is regarded as a sign of approaching rain. Compare our "A red sun has water in his eye".

3. "Trust not the horse if it is frisky, nor the sun if it turns its back" لا تامن الخيل اذا هلّت ولا الشمس اذا ولّت [Syria (Shumlān): also Egypt: Shuqair, 54*a*. Egypt: Bājūrī, 142 *var*. .. لا تامن للمرة اذا صلّت]. The sun is said to "turn its back" when it has a pale, hazy appearance. Then rain may be expected.

4. "Keep the sun from the cloud and the girl from mischief" خذ الشمس من تحت الغيم وخذ البت من تحت الضيم [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 878 (ix, 15)]. Sun and cloud together, or, rather, a sun hidden by cloud, bode no good.

5. "The rain is from the early morning" المطر من

البدرية [Soudan: Shuqair, 130 (31)]. In the neighbourhood of Beirūt rain preceding the sun in the morning betokens a wet day (نهار ماطر), but if the sun precedes the rain it will be good weather (صاحى). Contrast our "Rain before seven, fine before eleven". The following weather saying is to the same effect. It is, however, used as a proverb with general application.

6. "The good day is known from its dawn" النهار المليح بيعرف من اوّله [Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 558 (44). (a) Syria (Shumlān): *var.* الشهر for النهار. (b) Palestine: Baumann, 256 (217) ليلة الخير من العصر بتبان (c) Egypt (Cairo): Burckhardt, 50 الليلة البيّرة من العصر بيّنة, so also with *var.* تبان Egypt: Shuqair, 104 (37); Bājūrī, 35. (d) Malta. Vassalli, 74 (678), النهار يظهر من غداه].

7. "If it is red in the morning take your stick and fare forth, but if it is red in the evening seek a snug retreat" اذا احمرّت باكر خذ عصاتك و سافر واذا احمرّت عشيّة حوش لك مغارة دفيّة [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 928 (xiv, 2)]. The Bohemians also say: "A red sunrise betokens a fine day; a red sunset rain" (Swainson, 180) As a rule, however, the reverse is held to be the case, as witness

8 "When it is red in the evening bridle your ass for setting forth (i.e. the weather will be good), and when it is red in the morning leave your ass to rest (i e. the weather will be bad)" اذا احمارتْ مع العشية . اربَطْ حمارك للمشية . و اذا احمارت مع الصباح . اطلق (خلّ) حمار يستراح [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 34. N. Africa. Cherbonneau, 32. (a) N. Africa: Daumas, V.A. 492, منين تشوف الحمورة فى العشى . وجّد عودك للمشى . ومنين تشوف الحمورة فى الصباح . دخّل عودك للمراح (b) Malta: Vassalli, 40 (340), الحمورة فى العشية جيب زوجك

عالتجرية . الحورة فى الغدا جيب زويعلك من جرباء (red in the evening take your beast for the journey; red in the morning *fetch your beast in from the field*).] This prognostic in variant forms is widespread. Compare Matthew xvi, 2, 3, also our "Evening red and morning grey help the traveller on his way. evening grey and morning red bring down rain upon his head", or "Red in the morning is the shepherd's (sailor's) warning; red at night is the shepherd's (sailor's) delight". Proverbs in similar strain can be quoted from France, Germany, Denmark, Italy, the Basque country, etc. (*vide* Swainson, 178 sq).

Moon

If the new moon appear during fine weather it is a good omen for the month. Such a moon is called حربجى (warrior). The explanation offered is that good weather is required for campaigning If, on the other hand, rainy weather coincides with its appearance, the weather of the month will not be favourable. The moon is of great importance to many of the Arabs, for they journey often in the hot weather by night. Witness the proverb. "Journey and the moon be with you" سر وقمر لك. When the new moon is seen for the first time it is the custom amongst the Syrian peasantry to greet it with an invocation Amongst the Christians its form is: "May God cause you to shine and usher in to us a blessed month" يستهلّك ويجعلك عليك شهر مبارك [Shumlān] The Druses have a fuller form which they use · "May God cause you to appear and shine and set over us a blessed crescent, satisfy us with your good, and ward off from us your evil" الله هلّك واستهلّك هلالك مبارك كفينا خيرك وكفّ عنّا شرّك [Baiṣūr]. When the crescent is reclining, mottled, and pale (الهلال جالس ابرش باهت) wet weather is imminent, but if the crescent is inclined to one side and red (محروق احمر) it portends heat. The Scottish saying is "The bonny moon

is on her back, mend your shoon and sort your thack" (i.e. repair your shoes and your thatch for wet weather is near). In England people speak of the new moon lying on her back or being ill-made as a prognostic of wet weather. When there is a halo round the moon it is a sure sign of rain, and if the halo be open to the south (for Syria the rainy quarter) the rain is near [Shumlān].

9. "If the moon has a halo the morrow night will be rainy" اذا كان القمر عليه طارة . يكون ليلة غدا مطارة [Syria (Aleppo): Ayyūb, 928 (xiv, 1)]. Prognostics based on the halo of the moon are found in most countries. Compare our "When round the moon there is a brugh, the weather will be cold and rough", "The moon with a circle brings water in her beak"; "Far burr, near rain." In Scotland it is said that halos predict a storm at no great distance. The larger the halo round the moon the nearer the rain clouds and the sooner the rain may be expected. For numerous examples of prognostics associated with the lunar halo see Swainson, 186 sq; Inwards, 42 sq; Streng, 31.

10. "The halo round the moon is not to be trusted" دار القمر غرارة [Palestine: Cana'an, 287] Whilst a halo round the sun is regarded as a sure sign of rain, a halo round the moon is thought, in Palestine at least, to give no certain indication. It may be followed by fine weather This accords with similar weather sayings in this country, as witness: "The circle of the moon never filled a pond. the circle of the sun wets a shepherd." Compare also the German: "Hof um den Mond der soll wohl geh'n, aber Hof um die Sonne da schreit das Schiffer's Weib" [Swainson, 187].

STARS[1]

11. "When *al-mīzān* (Libra) rises, the water becomes cold in the courses" اذا طلع الميزان يبرد الماء فى الكيزان

[1] For the Meccan proverbs I am indebted to Shereef Mohiuddin, nephew of Husain, ex-ruler of Mecca.

[Mecca]. Libra, the balance, as representing the equality of night and day, is the sign for the autumnal equinox.

12. "When *al-mīzān* disappears unyoke the team from the plough" اذا غاب الميزان فك الفدّان [Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 556 (6)].

13. If at the عيد لدّ[1] Libra and the Pleiades[2] stand in S.-N. opposition a fruitful year will follow, because its winter will be rich in downpours, called شتا ثرياوى, but this will not be the case when they stand, as customary, in E.-W. opposition (Bauer, *B*, 56).

14. According to the Bedawin of Moab ثرايّ (Pleiades) is attacked by سهيل (Canopus) in the month of كانون (December–January). If ثرايّ escapes from this attack and succeeds in fleeing away, the year will be rainy and produce abundantly, but if ثرايّ is wounded by the blows of سهيل the year will be bad (Jaussen, 376)

15. "On the day of the rising of Canopus, the fig-skin becomes thicker" يوم يطلع اسهيل بيحمل قشر التين [Palestine: Cana'an, 297]. It marks the ushering in of the colder days of autumn, etc. The skin of the fig becomes thicker in autumn.

16. "At the appearing of Canopus, bring the horses under the roof" عند طلوع اسهيل آو الخيل [Palestine: Cana'an, 297, note 3] The cold season is now about to begin.

17. "In the season of *al-'aqrab* (Scorpio) do not pass the night under the open sky" فى زمن العقرب تحت السما لا تقرّب

[1] عيدلدّ is the Feast of St. George. This falls on 3rd November (in the case of the Eastern Church the 16th November) of our reckoning The church at Lydda is dedicated to St. George.

[2] The Pleiades (ثريّا) are used for shaping a course in the desert, as witness the saying. "Set the P. before her (the camel) and let go her reins" حطّ الثريا امامها والزّمْ خطا مها [Mecca].

[Mecca]. Scorpio marks the definite decline of the sun's power It is the symbol of darkness.

18. "At the rising of *al-hūt*, there the cold dies" اذا طلع الحوت هناك البرد يموت [Mecca] The *baṭn-al-hūt* is a brilliant star situated beneath the veil of Andromeda: it is sometimes confused with the constellation of Pisces. It is seldom that abundant rains do not fall during this "mansion", which corresponds to the 14th April of Julian reckoning (*vide* A d Motylinski, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes*, Algiers, 1899, 57).

19 "When Cancer is met with, the two *nasīms* blow" اذ التقى الصرطان هبّ النسيان [Mecca] The نسيمان are the morning and evening breezes, the land and sea breezes. Cancer is the sign of the summer solstice

20 "The heat of *asad* (Leo) burns the clothing on the body" حرّ الاسد يكصّن الثوب على الجسد [Mecca]. Leo as the symbol of fire marks the culmination of solar heat.

21. "*Al-butīn*—the bee spends the night in mud" البطين تبات النحلة فى الطين [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 2271]. *Al-buṭīn* falls on the 10th of May of the Julian year At that period of the year it is no longer cold, and the bee even is able to spend the night away from the hive. On this "mansion" of the moon, *vide* A d. Motylinski, loc. cit, p. 10.

Rainbow

22. The rainbow is called colloquially in Syria قوس القَدَح for قوس القزح [1] Other names for it are قسطانى, قُسْطان, قوس [2]المُزْن, قوس السما, قوس قزيع, قوس الله, قسطانيّة

[1] قزح = a storm god, a mountain god whose cult belonged to Muzdalifa, one of the sites of the Pilgrimage. A fire was lit on this mountain, the المشعر الحرام (the sacred monument) of the Qur'ān, ii, 194 (ed. Flügel).

[2] المُزْن = whitish raincloud. حبّ المزن = hailstone.

قسطانة, also نَدِىٌ , نَدَأَة , etc. [*vide* A. Mallon, قوس قزح *Al-Mashriq*, iii (1900), 241 ; *Qāmūs*, 963, etc.] In Morocco it is sometimes called " the bride of the rain " عروسة المطر (Meakin, *An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* (1891), 143). In Algeria it gets the name قوس النبي or زين قدح (Machuel, 312).[1]

23. " If the rainbow appears in the evening look out a warm corner, but if in the early morning take your stick and fare forth early (i e it will be good weather) " . ان نصب عشيّة

شوف لك قرنة دفية . وان نصب غدويّة . خول عكارك صبحيّة

[Syria (Beirūt, Baiṣūr). (*a*) Syria (Shumlān) *var* وان . . .

نصب فى الصباح خذ عكازك للرواح . (*b*) Syria ('Akkār), Ghānim, 559 (82), قوس قزح اذا نصب عباكر خذ عصاتك

وسافر وان نصب من عشية نقى لك مغارة دفيّة . (*c*) Palestine (Bēt-Rīma) : Cana'an, 286, note 1, ان قوّست باكر . احمل

عصاتك وسافر . ان قوّست امسيّة دور لك على معارة دفيّة

(*d*) Algeria—Tunis ; Cheneb, 1409 ; Dalīl, 60, قوس قدح اذا

طلع فى الصباح حطّ على زوايلك وارتح . و اذا طلع فى

العشيّة قم على زوايلك و خذ الثنيّة (when the rainbow appears in the morning unload your pack-animals and rest (for it will rain), but if it appears in the evening load your pack-animals and fare forth (lit take the mountain path))]. The Algerian form given in (*d*) is the

[1] The names given to the rainbow in different countries are interesting. Bridge of the gods (Old Norse), girdle of Laima or Lauma (Lithuania), bow of St. Martin (Catalonia), girdle of St Leonard or crown of St. Bernhard (Lorraine), heaven's ring or sun-ring (Bavaria), bow of heaven (Finland), stool of the gods (Czecho-Slovakia), stave (barrel-stave) in heaven (Serbia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia), striped cow (Croatia)—*vide* Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 34, note 1 ; Swainson, 194 sq.

reverse of the others and shows itself in accord with the prognostics respecting the rainbow in the Western World. The Cornish form of the saying is here an exception and accords with the Oriental. It runs: "A rainbow at morn put your hook in the corn: a rainbow at eve put your head in the sheave." Contrast this with the Wiltshire form: "The rainbow in the mornin' gives the shepherd warnin' to car' his gurt cwoat on his back; the rainbow at night is the shepherd's delight, for then no gurt cwoat will he lack" (Inwards, 69). "If in the morning y^e Rainbow appeare, it signifieth moysture, unlesse greate drought of ayre worke the contrarie. If in the evening it show itselfe faire weather ensueth so that abundant moyst ayre take not away the effect" (Digges, 6)[1]

24. "East and west (i.e. if the rainbow stretches so across the sky) take to the road, if south and north unyoke the team (from the plough)" شرق و غرب سا فر عادّرب . قبلة و شمال فكّ الفدّان [Syria (Beirūt): (*a*) Syria (Sūq al-Gharb): *var* نام for سافر, also Syria: Jemayyel, 867 (44) *var.* نَمْ. (*b*) Syria ('Akkār): Ghānim, 559 (82) ان صب قبلى وشمال فكّ العمّال . وان صب شرق وغرب نام عدّرب].
The direction of the span is important. Thus, if it is thrown east and west across the sky, good weather is expected, and if north and south it will be wet (Jemayyel, 867, note 2).

25. "If a boy passes under the rainbow he will become a girl" اذا مرّق الصبي تحت قوس القدح بيصير بنت. This threat to boyhood we may be excused for giving here. It is used by Syrian mothers to keep their boys from wandering far afield. It is a sufficient threat for the average boy. The same quaint notion finds expression in Haute-Loire and Serbia (*vide* Streng, 69).

[1] For French and German proverbs to the same effect *vide* Streng, 70; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, 34 sq.

Mist

26. "If there is mist in the evening seek out a cosy corner" ان غطغطت عشية دوّر لك على مغارة دفية [Palestine (Jerusalem): Baumann, 183 (244), No. 205].

27. "Mist in the evening necessitates faggots for the fire" غطيطة عشية بدّ ها قرمية [Syria (Sūq al-Gharb)]. In Germany thick fog in the evening is held to portend that it will rain during the night.

28. "If there is mist (i e. in the morning) it will soon be fine" ان عرّجت فرّجت [Palestine: Cana'an].

29. "When there is mist in the morning, take your shepherd's staff. Mist in the evening seek a cosy corner" ان مجمجت صبحية احمل عصا الرعية . ان مجمجت امسية دور لك على مغارة دفية [Palestine. Cana'an, 286 *var.* ان مجمجت يا كر احمل عصاتك وسافر].

Miscellaneous

30. "Dew is the bed of rain" الندا فراش الشتا [Palestine: Cana'an, 286]. The Palestinian peasant looks upon heavy dew as the harbinger of rain.

31. "If the south is clear, do not fear for the rest" اذا كان القبلى ناقى لا تخاف من الباقى [Syria (Shumlān)]. The south is the quarter whence rainy and stormy weather may generally be expected to come.

32. "Snow precedes fine weather" تلّجت فرّجت [Syria (Shumlān)]. Literally "it has snowed, it has cleared".

33. "No fine weather till after snow" ما فيه فرجة لبعد التلجة [Syria (Shumlān)].

34. "If you see the sky dappled, take out your effects and repair them" اذا رايت السماء مبقّع خرّج حوايجك ورقع [N. Africa: Cheneb, 58; Dalīl, 60 (Tr. 59), *var.* for رايت read شفت]. The weather will be good.

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

35. In Syria, if the noise made by thunder is long and rolling (called جاروش[1]*), it is regarded as a sign of bad weather,* but if it be short and sharp in sound *the climax* (فسخ طبع) has been reached and the weather may be expected to improve steadily. When the thunder belongs to neither of these extremes it is called رعد قاصف, and people say "The cow of the heavens is frisking".[2]

36. "When the thunder rolls in the 'nights' get ready the shovel and fork (i e the harvest will be good)" اذا رعّد الرعد فى الليالى سَجِّ اللوح والمذارى [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 57; Tunis: Dalīl, 60] The "nights" here are the so-called "black nights" (الليالى السود), the name given in Algeria to the forty nights following on 23rd December, although some say 21st December They in their turn are followed by forty "white nights" (الليالى البيض)

37. "When it thunders it will stop" ان ارعد افطمت [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla): Cana'an, 285].

There are, as might be expected, weather prognostics based on local signs. We give here two of these.

38 "Lightning over Jebail, it will rain to-night" برق جبيلى بتشتى الليلة [Syria (Sūq al-Gharb)]. J'bail or Jebēl, ancient Byblos, a small town on the coast to the north of Beirūt and almost due north of Sūq al-Gharb.

[1] جاروش is the colloquial term for "hand-mill". This mill for grinding corn consists of two flat stones, the upper being made to rotate on a pivot supplied by the lower. The grinding makes a considerable noise.

[2] بقرة السما مُقَيِّقة. On the Arabic names for thunder *vide Kitāb al-Maṭar*, 209 sq. Amongst the Greeks and Romans thunder was the rolling of the chariot of the Father of the Gods (*Horace*, xii, 1), and this is still a popular fancy in Sweden and Finland (cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, i, 138, ii, 62), the anger of God (Westphalia), God plays skittles (Germany), angels or apostles play skittles (France), God rattling peas (Poitou), the devil rattling decalitres of rye, or Baraban throws his wives out of the window (Maritime Alps).

39. "Lightning over al-Ghadīr, rain in abundance" [Syria (Sūq al-Gharb)]. Al-Ghadīr is a village above Jūneh (north of Beirūt), and, like J'bail, almost due north of Sūq al-Gharb.

40. "Much lightning, much rain" ان برّقت عرّقت [Palestine (Bēt-Jāla)]. Literally, "if it lightens, it drowns."

BIRDS AND INSECTS

41. "The year of the starling, plough the uncultivated (fallow) land" سنة الزَرْزور الحرث فى البور [Palestine (South): Cana'an, 287]. The "year of the starling" is a year in which these birds are plentiful, portending, so the peasants believe, a good and fruitful year

42. "In the year of the lapwing sell your bed and buy a cover" سنة القطا بيع الفرشة واشترى غطا [Palestine (South): Cana'an, 287, *var.* (Bēt-Rīma) بيع الوطا ("sell shoes")]. The year when lapwings appear in large numbers will be a year of scarcity. Everything will be so dear that the peasant in poor circumstances will be driven to sell his household effects and be content with bare necessities.

43. "The year of the hornet, the winter will be severe" سنة الدبور الشتا قاسى [Syria (Shumlān)] A summer when hornets are numerous will be followed by a severe winter.

44. "When the storks pass (over Lebanon) in the spring, it will rain" متى مرق البجع فى الربيع بدّها تشتى [Syria (Shumlān)] The storks pass northwards in the spring on their way from Egypt to Europe. Rain is generally expected on the second day thereafter. In Italy and Germany the passing of the storks is also said to herald rain (*vide* Swainson, 235).

45. "The 'black worm' is a good sign for the silkworm" الجيمرة علامة القزّ [Syria (Shumlān)]. The year when the

مجيمرة is much in evidence is held to be a good sign for the silk industry, since the weather conditions will be favourable.

46. "If the rain in January is of small amount there is fear of locusts" اذا كان الشتا فى كانون قليل يخافوا من الجراد [Syria (Shumlān)]. كانون here is كانون الثانى.

47. "If the spring is wet, a year of silk and not of grain" اجا الربيع رطب سنة حراير مش غراير [Syria (Shumlān)]. The غرارة is a large sack for grain

The Year

48. "The year of frost plough vigorously" عام الجليد احرث وزد [Algeria (Medea): Cheneb, 1171; Daumas, V.A. 496]. Plentiful frost indicates that the year will be good

49. "Don't reckon your year until you have seen the harvest" لا تحسب سنتك حتى تستغلّها [Syria: Barthélemy, 364 (81); Jemayyel, 867 (46); Shuqair, 54 (9)]. The equivalent of our "Do not count your chickens before they are hatched".

50. "No bee without mud (i e. rain), no goat without dry weather, no fine weather without snow" ما لك نحلة غير من وحلة . ما لك معزة غير من محلة . ما لك فرجة غير من تلجة [Syria (Baiṣūr)].

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

URDU · THE NAME AND THE LANGUAGE

Part I

Epitome.—Urdu was born in 1027, its birthplace was Lahore, its parent Old Panjabi; Old Kharī was its step-parent, it had no direct relationship with Braj. The name Urdu first appears 750 years later.

The problem of Urdu has not yet been solved This note is written with a view to crystallizing thought about the matter, and is of necessity more summary than would be desirable if limitations of space had not to be considered.

Perhaps the most important date in the history of Urdu is 1027, the year in which Mahmūd G̱aznavī annexed the Panjab. He had already made expeditions into the country, but in that year he formally claimed possession of it and settled troops in the capital, Lahore. To 1027 may be assigned the birth of Urdu. At that time these Persian-speaking soldiers began to live among a people whose language was old Panjabi, to mix with them, to have intercourse with them, and, we cannot doubt, to learn their language. The contrary idea that the people all began to speak Persian may be dismissed. The army must have used this old form of Panjabi, not very different in those days from the early Kharī Bolī of Delhi, but they introduced Persian words and possibly phrases. This means simply that they must have begun to speak early Urdu.

For 160 years Maḥmūd G̱aznavī and his successors held the Panjab, it was wrested from them in 1187. For the second time the country was seized by men who spoke Persian. This time the conqueror was Muhammad G̱orī whose servant Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak captured Delhi in 1193 and became the first Sulṭān on the death of his master in 1206. It seems clear

that his troops made friends with the soldiers whom they defeated in Lahore, and that the two armies went on *to* Delhi *leaving a sufficient force to keep open the lines of* communication; for Aibak cannot have annihilated the fighting men in Lahore and he would not have permitted the menace of a hostile army in his rear. We may conclude that a considerable number of those who entered Delhi with Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak already spoke early Urdu. This language, altered by the influence of the new troops who spoke Persian, and of the city people whose language was old Khaṛī, developed into later Urdu.

This sketch of the origin of Urdu suggests that we should regard Lahore, not Delhi, as its birthplace, and early Panjabi as its parent language. Unfortunately we have no means at present of ascertaining what Panjabi at that time was like; we feel sure, however, that it had not diverged far from old Khaṛī. We may dismiss Braj from our calculations; there is no reason to think that it had any direct connection with Urdu. When Urdu was born in 1027 Panjabi was only entering the modern stage. Although we can hardly doubt the general course of events, we do not get on to firm ground till 1326, when Muḥammad Tuglaq invaded the Deccan and founded Daulatābād. We know that his troops spoke Urdu; and when in 1347 'Alā ud Dīn Bahmanī revolted against him and ascended the throne as the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty, his *state* made Urdu *its official language*.

If it be objected that there is not complete proof of some of the above statements, we can admit that fact, but point out that the proof is stronger than for the hitherto accepted view that Urdu began in Delhi during the Mugal period.

Indian writers usually consider that the royal camp in Delhi was first called the *urdū* by the Emperor Bābur in his work, *Tuzuk i Bāburī*. It may be so. He was a Turkī who came from Turkistān in 1526 and naturally spoke of his *urdū*; but the word is found in the *Jahākushā* of Javainī, 1150, e.g. vol. i, p. 162:—

dar urdū e shāhzādagān dar natavānand āmad, " they cannot enter the camp of the princes " ;

and on p. 148 :—

dar andarūn i urdū āmadand, " they came into the camp."

There seems to be no reason why the army in Lahore or Delhi should not have been called the *urdū* several centuries earlier than Bābur.

When does the word Urdu first occur as the name of a language ? It became common in Lucknow after 1846 and in Delhi after 1857. We must make a sharp distinction between Urdu, used by itself as a proper name, and *zabān i Urdū* ; for we cannot be sure that *zabān i Urdū* is a name ; it may be a mere description, " the language of the army."

Perhaps the earliest example of the word standing alone and bearing the sense of Urdu language is in Muṣḥafī, 1750–1824 :—

Khudā rakkhe zabā̃ ham ne sunī hai Mīr o Mirzā kī
Kahẽ kis mũh se ham ai Muṣḥafī Urdū hamārī hai ?

" I have heard the language of Mīr and Saudā ; how can I dare to assert that Urdū is my language ? "

We are unable to say in what year these words were written. Muṣḥafī may have composed the verse any time after he was grown up. He was a recognized poet in 1776.

J. B. Gilchrist, writing in 1796, mentions the name as well known. His words are : " In the mixed dialect also called Ŏŏrdoo اردو, or the polished language of the Court, and which even at this day pervades the vast provinces of a once powerful Empire " (*A Grammar of the Hindoostanee Language*, p. 261). As we do not know the date of Muṣḥafī's lines we must admit that Gilchrist *may* have been the first person who in literature used Urdu as the name of the language.

Jules Bloch has made a striking suggestion, which he admits is only an intuitive feeling requiring to be substantiated by proof, that the name Urdu is due to Europeans. In this connection it is important to note that Gilchrist in the sentence just quoted mentions Ŏŏrdoo as a name already

established. His statement seems to make it clear that Indians used the word. Gilchrist himself always called the language "Hindoostanee".

W. H. Bayley in an English and "Hindoostanee" thesis, 1802, which may be consulted in the British Museum, says "the language which I have specified by the name of Hindoostanee is also frequently denominated Hindee, Oordoo, Moosulmanee and Rekhtu"

Sayyid Inshā in *Daryā e Laṭāfat*, 1807 (Lucknow ed., p. 2), writes *Khush bayānān i ā̃jā muttafiq shuda az zabā̃hā e muta-'addad alfāz i dilcasp judā namūda o dar ba'zī 'ibārat bakār burda zabāne tāza siwā e zabā̃hā e dīgar rasānīdand o ba urdū mausūm sākhtand*: "the good speakers of Delhi united in separating attractive words from several languages and using them in sentences, in this way they produced a new language, different from other languages, and called it Urdū."

Mīr Amman in the preface to *Bāg o Bahār*, 1802, gives an account of the birth of Urdū, and though he never uses the word alone (he says *Urdū kī zabān*) it is clear from the whole context that he is thinking of a definite name.

We conclude that while Fārsī and Hindī had for long been used as proper names Urdu did not receive similar recognition till near the dawn of the eighteenth century.

The phrase *zabān i urdū e mu'allā* seems to occur for the first time in Mīr's *Nikāt ush Shu'arā*, 1752. On p 1 of the Badāyū edition he says. *poshīda na mānad ki dar fann i rekhta ki shi'rest bataur i shi'r i Fārsī ba zabān i Urdū e mu'allā e Shāhjahānābād Dihlī kitābe ta ḥāl taṣnīf na shuda*: "we must remember that up to the present no book has been written on the art of *Rekhta*, which is poetry in the style of Persian poetry but in the language of the royal camp of Delhi."

Here *urdū e mu'allā* may possibly mean *faṣīḥ aur mustanad Urdū*, the idiomatic and authoritative Urdu of Delhi.

Two years later Qāim writes in *Makhzan i Nikāt* (Aurangabad ed., 33):—

akṣare az tarkībāt i Furs ki muāfiq i muḥāvara e urdū e mu'allā mānūs i gosh meyāband minjumla e javāz ul abyān me dānand: "most Persian constructions which strike their ears as familiar from the point of view of the idiom of the royal camp they regard as among the things lawful in poetry."

Here, too, the phrase may mean "correct Urdu idiom", and the author may not be thinking of the army. But as Mīr and Qāim appear always to use Hindī or Rekhta as the name of the language we should perhaps translate "the language, or idiom, of the army".

Mīr's son, 'Arsh, who lived well into the nineteenth century, says :—

ham haĩ Urdū e mu'allā ke zabãdã ai 'Arsh
mustanad hai jo kucch irshād kiyā karte haĩ

"I speak the Urdu e Mu'alla language and what I say is authoritative". The date of the lines is unknown. The author's father died in 1799 at the age of 86 (not in 1810, as usually stated).

Finally, Muhammad 'Aṭā Ḥusain in *Nau Tarz i Muraṣṣa'*, 1798, speaks of *zabān i urdū e mu'allā*.

Mr. G. M. Qādrī has drawn my attention to two MSS. which contain perhaps the earliest instances of the use of *zabān i urdū* without further description. The references are :—

Tazkira e Gulzār i Ibrāhīm, by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khā, 1783 (speaking of Vaṣālat Khā Sābit), *tatabbu' i zabān i urdū namūda*, "he followed the Urdu language," or "the language of the *urdū*", i.e. devoted attention to it.

Tazkira e Shu'arā e Hindī, by Muṣḥafī, 1794 (speaking of Muḥammad Amān Niṣār), *adā e zabān i urdū*, "the style of the Urdu language," or "of the language of the *urdū*".

THE PROBLEM OF THE NAME. It is always stated that the language was originally described as the speech of the army or camp, *zabān i urdū*, and that gradually the word *zabān*

was dropped, leaving *urdū* to stand alone. This explanation gives rise to a great difficulty. We have seen that Urdu was first used by itself in the poems of Muṣḥafī. We may perhaps guess the date of the couplet in which the word appears as the year 1790, when the author was 40. We are now faced by the fact that the first instance of the use of the word was 763 years after the establishment of the army in Lahore, almost 600 years after the *urdū* was settled in Delhi, and 261 years after Bābur called his camp the *Urdū e Mu'allā*. The Urdu language had been in existence for about 750 years before anyone gave it, in writing at any rate, the name by which it is now always known. Even if we take the earlier date, 1752, when Mīr described it as the language of the royal camp, we deduct only thirty-eight years from our figures. None of the historians of the Mugal period ever used the name. We have to answer three questions :—

(1) Why was there a delay of centuries in giving the name Urdu ?

(2) If a new name had to be given in the eighteenth century, why was this name chosen for the language when it had many, many years previously been given up for the army ?

(3) If the army was not called *urdū* till Babur's time, 1526, the language which had then existed for nearly 500 years must already have had a name. Why was that name given up ?

It is easier to state the problem than to solve it. I see no solution except this : that some name or description such as *zabān i urdū* was in conversational use from the time when the army was first called *urdū*, and that very gradually, hundreds of years later, it crept into books, possibly earlier than we are now aware of, while the use of Urdu alone was still later. I feel the inadequateness of this, but perhaps it will lead to something fuller. We must always remember that in early days Urdu literature was not so accurate a reflection of daily life and speech as it is now, and there may have been much in ordinary talk which found no echo in books.

Part II

In the eighteenth century and earlier Hindi (sometimes Hindavī) was the usual name for the language in general and Rekhta for the literary or poetical form of it.

Ja'far Zaṭallī, 1659–1713, has the lines,

agarci sabhī kūṛa o kurkuṭ ast
ba Hindī o rindī zabā laṭpaṭ ast

"although everything is rubbish and sweepings, the language is lively with Hindi and licentiousness".

Fazli in the preface to his *Dah Majlis*, 1732, writes:— *aur ab tak tarjuma e Fārsī ba 'ibārat i Hindī nasr nahī̃ huā mustama'*: and so far no one has ever heard of a translation from Persian into Hindi prose.

Asar, in his famous *masnavī Khvāb o Khayāl*, 1740, frequently uses rekhta, as on p. 10:

rekhta nē yih tab sharaf pāyā,
jab ki Ḥazrat nē usko farmāyā

"Rekhta obtained this eminence only when Ḥazrat (Dard, his brother and teacher) used it".

On p. 9, talking of the contents of his volume, he calls Urdu "Hindavī":

Fārsī sau haĩ Hindavī sau haĩ,
bāqī ash'ār i masnavī sau haĩ

"Persian couplets 100, Hindavī 100, and the remaining couplets of the *masnavī* 100."

Afzal Beg in his *tazkira Tuhfat ush Shu'arā*, 1752, not printed, deals almost entirely with poets who wrote in Persian, but where he refers to Urdu poetry he calls it Hindī. Thus he says of Mīr 'Abd ul Ḥai Viqār: *ash'ār i Fārsī o Hindī ṭab' durust dārad*; "he had good natural ability in Persian and Hindi poetry" (*Camanistān i Shu'arā*, 152).

Shāh Ḥātim, in the preface to his *Dīvānzāda*, 1755, writes: *dar shi'r i Fārsī pairau o Mirzā Ṣāib ast, dar rekhta Valī rā ustād medānad*: "in Persian poetry he (the author) follows

Ṣāib, in Rek͟hta *he regards Valī as his master.*" See *Āb i Ḥayāt*, ed. *1917*, p. *115*.

Mīr Ḥasan, d. 1786, uses Hindī or Rek͟hta and avoids Urdū. In his anthology, 1776, he has the phrase: *taẕkira e suk͟han āfrīnān i Hindī*, "an anthology of Urdu poets" (p. 40).

Even Shāh 'Abdul Qādir in his well-known Urdu translation of the Qur'ān uses the name Hindī: *is mē zabān i rek͟hta nahī bolī balki Hindī e muta'āraf ki 'avāmm ko be takalluf daryāft ho*; "I have not used Rek͟hta in my translation, but well-known Urdu that ordinary people might easily understand it".

Mīr, 1713–99, Saudā, 1713–80, and Qāim (d. about 1790) use the word Rek͟hta very often. I will content myself with one quotation from Mīr.

mazbūṭ kaise kaise kahe rek͟hte vale,
samjhā na koī merī zabā̃ is diyār mē.

"What fine Urdū verse I have written, but no one in these parts understands me".

The name Hindi requires no comment. It was the natural word to use in early times. Several explanations have been given of Rek͟hta, a Persian word which means "poured", and has no literary signification in Persian. The most important are the following —

(1) Urdu is called Rek͟hta because Arabic and Persian words were poured into it.

(2) Rek͟hta means "down and out", and Urdu was at first regarded as something contemptible.

(3) It means verses in two languages, and at first Urdu and Persian were used side by side.

(4) It is a musical term introduced by Amīr K͟husrau indicating the application of the music of one language to the words of another.

(5) It means a wall firmly constructed of different materials, as Urdu is of diverse linguistic elements. This is the opposite of (2).

Ṣafīr Bilgrāmī in *Jalva e Khizr* says that the name Rekhta has been in use since the time of Shāhjahān. This requires proof.

Other early names may be mentioned.

According to Mahmūd Shīrānī *zabān i Dihlavī* was used by Amīr Khusrau (d. 1324) and by Abu'l Faẓl (in *Āīn i Akbarī*).

Shāh Ḥātim in the preface to his *Dīvānzāda* quoted above calls Urdu "rozmarra e Dihlī": *rozmarra e Dihlī ki Mirzāīān i Hind dar muḥāvara ārand manzūr dārad,* "I have accepted the daily speech of Delhi which is the idiom of the Mirzas of India."

Again: *rozmarra rā ki 'ām fahm o khāṣṣ pasand bāshad ikhtiyār namūd,* "I have chosen the daily speech understood by all and liked in select circles." (As has been noted before he refers to himself in the third person.)

To turn to Dakanī writers. Shāh Mīrā̃ Jī, d. 1496, a famous religious writer, who preached and wrote in Urdu, explains that he wrote in "Hindi" in order that people might understand: *yeh bolū̃ Hindī sab, is artõ ke sababb,* "I am saying all this in Urdu for this reason".

His son, Shāh Burhan ud Dīn, d. 1582, says in his poem *Irshād Nāma*: *'aib na rākhē Hindī bol,* "do not blame me for using Urdu" He also calls it Gujrī, which is not unnatural, for his language is marked by many Gujrati features.

je hoe gyān bicārī,
na dekhē bhākhā Gujrī (*Ḥujjat ul Baqā*)

"learned people will not look at Gujrī" i.e. Urdu.

yeh sab kīā Gujrī zabā̃ (*Irshād Nāma*)

"I have done all this in Gujrī (Urdu)".

Vajhī, the famous author of *Quṭb Mushtarī*, 1609, referred to in the India Office Catalogue as nameless and anonymous, wrote in 1634 a prose work *Sab Ras*. After the ascriptions of praise he proceeds: *āgāz i dāstān ba zabān i Hindostān,* "here begins the story in the language of Hindustan," i.e. the Urdu of Delhi as distinguished from Dakanī.

The dialect of the Deccan was often called Daknī or Dakhanī, e.g. Rustamī's *Khāvarnāma*, 1649, *Khāvarnāma e Daknī kītā hū̃ nām* "I have called it the Dakni Khavaranāma" (last line but five).

Shāh Malik's *Sharī'at Nāma*, 1666, *Dakhanī mē bolyā hai ṣāf*, "said it plainly in Dakhani." (This author is mistakenly called "Shāh Mulk" in the India Office Cat.)

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE AUTHOR OF THE ŚIVA-SŪTRAS

From very early times the *Pratyāhāra-sūtras*, which come at the beginning of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and which form an integral part of the most highly developed mnemonic system of Pāṇini, have been considered to be revealed by the God Śiva. Thus the versified Śikṣā, attributed to Pingala by the commentator, and generally known as the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* (Ṛg. recension śl. 58, Vāj. rec. śl 34), *Kathāsarit-sāgara* (i, 4, 22), and finally the *Kāśikā* of Nandikeśvara (śl. 1), all have produced the impression that the *Pratyāhāra-sūtras* are not a composition of Pāṇini. Böthlingk, the first editor of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in Europe, retained the traditional title *Śiva-sūtras*, and after him such eminent scholars as Kielhorn have allowed it to continue without any note or comment. It is rather curious how Patañjali's clear statement has been overlooked by modern students of Pāṇini. This statement runs .—

"प्रत्याहारेऽनुबन्धानां कथमज्ग्रहणेषु न।"

य एतेऽनु प्रत्याहारार्था अनुबन्धाः क्रियन्त एतेषामज्ग्रहणेषु ग्रहणं कस्मान्न भवति। किं च स्यात्। दधि णकारीयति मधु णकारीयतीतीको यणचि इति यणादेशः प्रसज्येत॥

"आचारात्"

किमिदमाचारादिति। आचार्याणामुपचारात्। नैतेष्वाचार्या अच्कार्याणि कृतवन्तः॥

"अप्रधानत्वात्"

अप्रधानत्वाच्च । न खल्वप्यचामेषामनु प्राधान्येनोपदेशः क्रियते । क्व तर्हि । हल्सु । कुत एतत् । एषा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते यत्तुल्यजातीयांस्तुल्यजातीयेषूपदिशति । अचोऽक्षु हलो हल्सु ॥

(Kielhorn's edit., vol. i, p. 32.)

Here Patañjali, in his usual clear style, discusses the question whether the anubandha letters (*ṇ, k, ṅ, c*) suffixed to the first four *sūtras* (*aiun, ṛḷk, eoṅ, ai auc*) for the sake of forming pratyāhāras are to be included among the letters denoted by the pratyāhāra *ac.* This question had already been raised and answered by the *Kārikākāra*, probably Vyāḍi, who is quoted and commented upon by Patañjali: "the anubandha letters (being consonants) do not occupy a prominent position among the vowels. Where then? Among the consonants. Why is it so? Because it is the style of the Ācārya that he enumerates the vowels among the vowels and the consonants among the consonants."

The gloss of Nāgeśa on the word Ācārya shows how strongly the tradition had taken hold of him: आचार्यशब्देना-नादिशब्दपुरुषः This interpretation of the word is restricted to this passage only. That here Ācārya refers to Pāṇini is beyond doubt Besides, cf on ii, 1, 3: यथा ह्याचार्यस्य शैली लक्ष्यते°, where even Nāgeśa has no other interpretation to offer. And also: प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचावकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता यत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुं किं पुनरियता सूत्रेण ॥ (on i, 1, 1, p 39).

The only objection that could be raised is that Patañjali at a subsequent place (vol i, p 40) declares that वृद्धिरादैच् is the beginning of the *Śāstra*, and hence the word *vṛddhiḥ* is put first in this aphorism in order to bestow a benediction on the teachers and the disciples. But, as is evident from the passage cited below, this objection did not occur to Patañjali, who, with Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārttikas*, considered the *pratyāhāra-sūtras* (the *akṣara-samāmnāya* of

Patañjali) as something separate from the main work (the *sūtra* of Pat.), designated as *vyākaraṇa* or *Śāstra* :

अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । सूत्रम् । . . . सूत्रत एव हि शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । आतश्च सूत्रत एव यो ह्युत्सूत्रं कथयेन्नादो गृह्येत । अथ किमर्थो वर्णानामुपदेशः । . . . (vol. i, p. 11, l. 15–p. 13, l. 1).

Having decided that the *sūtra* is the *vyākaraṇa*, the means to right knowledge of words, Kātyāyana and Patañjali proceed further to show the object of the enunciation of the letters.

This establishes that the *akṣara-samāmnāya* is a composition of Pāṇini but that the grammar proper begins with वृद्धिरादैच्. Kātyāyana and Patañjali were near enough to Pāṇini to know the truth, and it would be sheer absurdity to doubt their statements, specially when at the same time we keep in view the interdependence of the *akṣara-samāmnāya* and the *vyākaraṇa*.

RAGHU VIRA.

MINÎTU, "FATE." A CORRECTION

In this *Journal*, 1930, p. 29, I mentioned Professor Zimmern's suggestion that the text of K. 34, Rev. 3 = L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic*, No. 19, l. 23, should be *lum-ni ta-bal damḳa šur-ka*. The text has now been examined and I regret to say that for once King's great authority as a copyist has misled me into a serious error. *MI* is uncertain and should have been so indicated. It is in reality [cuneiform]. There is no doubt at all about the correction to *lum-ni*, and so far as my note on *minîtu*, p. 24, based on this passage, is concerned it is erroneous. The verb *ba'ālu* "to decree, beseech, etc." does not occur in this passage. My restoration of Ebeling, KAR. 68, Obv. 23, is, therefore, false, and should be [*šur-ḳa-*]*ma ḫegal-la-ka ra-ba-a*, unless some ideogram for *šarāḳu* stood in the break at the beginning of this line.

The parallel passage, Myhrman, PBS. i, 17, 22, has certainly

[*lu-*]*úb-nu ta-bal-ma ḫegalla šur-ka*, as Professor Landsberger has suggested to Professor Zimmern. The photograph, ibid., pl. xlvii, shows [illegible].

For *tabālu* in similar texts see King, ibid., 53, 28 [*ina*] *zumri-ia purus-su ina zumri-ia ta-bal-šu* = Ebeling, KAR. 267, Rev. 16. *it-bal-šu*, B.M. 99064, 9 (unpublished). *bal-ti tab-la-tu*, King, ibid., 12, 56 = Hehn, BA. v, 350. For *lubnu* "misery", beside citation in Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt's dictionaries, see Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 13, 1; *šumma irru kima ku-pi kīt*(*it*) *pale-e matu iṣaḫḫir lu-ub-nu ina māti ibaš-ši*. *lu-úb-nu*, CT. 27, 16, 10; 17, 30. See Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, v, 229.

S. LANGDON.

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PRE-DYNASTIC RESEARCH

The Royal Anthropological Institute has appointed a special Research Committee to raise funds for further investigation of the origin and development of the early pre-dynastic cultures of Egypt

These cultures, as exhibited already in the Nile Valley and the Fayum Oasis, are of more than local interest; for the area in which they occur, lying between the Mediterranean and West Asia on the one hand, and Central Africa on the other, seems to offer the best hope of correlating the early stages of culture throughout this whole region and connecting them with the first historic civilizations.

These early cultures certainly lay at the root of the later Egyptian culture. Work already done shows that they were due to immigrants into the Nile Valley; and it is one of the objects of the proposed investigations to trace these people to their home of origin In particular, it is proposed to examine the oases in the Libyan Desert, which, as far as primitive archaeology is concerned, are practically unknown. The movements of the early Neolithic folk were in all

probability related to the climatic changes after the last great retreat of the European ice-sheet. Here, therefore, it is also hoped to obtain a basis for the correlation of changes of climate in Europe and Central Africa.

Miss Caton-Thompson has already done work on the lines described above, and after having investigated the ancient buildings of Rhodesia on behalf of the British Association in 1929 is now returning to her Egyptian work. Funds are urgently required for the work which it is estimated will take at least three years, the total amount required for each year's working expenses being £1,200.

Subscriptions should be sent either to the Secretary of the Committee, Miss E. W. Gardner, Bedford College, London, N.W. 1, or to the Hon. Treasurer, Royal Anthropological Institute, 52 Upper Bedford Place, London, W.C. 1.

THE MAWÁQIF OF AL-NIFFARÍ

Professor Nicholson announced in 1914 his intention of publishing the *Mawáqif* of Al-Niffarí with an English translation and notes.[1] This promise he has been prevented from fulfilling by a variety of other work, and he has now been kind enough to invite me to take the task in hand; and the electors to the Wright Studentship at Cambridge have provided me with the opportunity of accepting this invitation.

The *Mawáqif* is a treatise on speculative mysticism, written by Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jabbár ibn al-Ḥasan al-Niffarí[2] in the tenth century A.D. Its contents have been described and illustrated by Professor Nicholson[3] and Professor Margoliouth[4]; Dr. Massignon refers to the work,[5] but expresses doubts as to its authenticity as a fourth century (Hijra) document. The treatise was known to Muḥyí'l-Dín ibn al-

[1] *The Mystics of Islam* (publ. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.), p. 72.

[2] One MS. gives him the additional *nisbah* al-'Iráqí.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 57, 71, 72, etc.

[4] *Early Development*, etc., pp. 186–98.

[5] *Essai sur les Origines*, etc., p. 298 (cf. p. [illegible][5]).

'Arabí, who refers to the author several times in the *Futúḥát al Makkiyya* [1]; it was published by 'Afífu'l-Dín al-Tilimsání († 690) with a fairly copious commentary, and by another anonymous commentator of the school of Ibn al-'Arabí. Sha'rání [2] gives a short account of the author, who is also mentioned by Ḥájjí Khalífa [3]; the latter stating that he died in the year 354. Zabídí [4] mentions two other works of Niffarí's besides the *Mawáqif* (viz. the *Da'áwá* and the *Ḍalál*), and Ibn al-'Arabí in one place [5] calls our present work *Kitábu'l-Mawáqif wa'l-Qawl.* Two MSS. of the *Mawáqif* that I have examined (G, M) contain a considerable quantity of additional matter amounting altogether to about one half the length of the *Mawáqif*; this is similar in style and subject to the *Mawáqif*, and there seems little reason to doubt that it is by the same hand. These two MSS. also include a short piece not found elsewhere, apparently of Mahdí significance, entitled "Mukháṭabát wa-Bashárát wa-Ídhán."

Brockelmann [6] gives a list of the MSS of the *Mawáqif* known to him, and on these MSS. I am basing my edition. So far I have collated all except the MS. at Constantinople and this I hope to examine soon. The other five are:—

B = MS. Marshall 166 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. A clear well-written MS., slightly illuminated, containing the *Mawáqif* and the commentary of Tilimsání, completed in 694 A.H., of 220 folios.

G = MS. Gotha 880. A good MS., the basis of my edition, containing the *Mawáqif* and the additional material without commentary, completed in 581 A.H., of 132 folios. At present its numeration is in slight disorder. This MS. I have been able to examine at leisure, thanks to the courtesy

[1] (Publ. Cairo, A.H. 1293) i, 505, 771; ii, 187, 805, 827. These references I owe to the kindness of my friend Shaikh Abú'l 'Alá 'Afífi.

[2] *Tabaqát al-Kubrá*, i, 270.

[3] *Kashfu'l-Zunún* (ed Flügel), vi, 235 = No. 13355

[4] *Táj al-'arús*, s.v nafar.

[5] F.M., i, 505.

[6] *Geschichte der arab. Litt.*, i, 200.

of the Gotha Ducal Library, who loaned it to the Cambridge University Library for three months.

I = MS. India Office 597. With this I am acquainted through a copy made from it by Prof. Nicholson. Contains the *Mawáqif* and Tilimsání's commentary, and completed in 1087 A.H., of 156 folios.

M = MS. Marshall 554 of the Bodleian. Written in a small neat hand, of 175 folios, containing the *Mawáqif* with a short anonymous commentary, and the additional material. Undated, but mainly of the same tradition as G.

T = MS Thurston 4 of the Bodleian. A parchment MS. of the same tradition as B and I, undated, of 115 folios.

My present intention is to edit the text of the *Mawáqif*, and to publish with it an English translation and such commentary as may be necessary to elucidate the difficulties of expression and thought in the original, which are numerous.

Concerning the form of the author's *nisbah*, al-Niffarí, it is necessary to point out that the variant al-Nafzí, which has appeared in several places,[1] is of old standing, but little probability. G has al-Nafzí on the title-page, al-Niffarí everywhere in the text; the same inconsistency occurs in B; I has the form al-Niffarí; M and T omit the *nisbah* altogether on the title-page, and T has the form al-Nuffazí once in the text. Arabic authorities universally adopt the form al-Niffarí[2]; and indeed this must be the correct one, as I hope to demonstrate in my edition. The *nisbah* refers to the town of Niffar[3] in Mesopotamia, the site of important excavations in modern times[4]; it is identical with Nippur of the Assyrians and Nopher of the Talmud.[5]

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[1] Massignon, op. cit., loc. cit.; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. Handschriften*, iii, 166 (cf. MS. Berlin 3218 = We 1775 f. 11*b*).

[2] That is, as far as I have been able to trace.

[3] Cf. Yáqút, *Mu'jam al-Buldán* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii, 798. Niffarí is associated with Niffar by Zabídí, loc. cit.

[4] Reported in J. P. Peter's *Nippur* (publ New York, 1897).

[5] Cf. G. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, i, 154.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. By W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xvii + 283 pp. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1929. Price 15*s*.

Mr. Moreland is known to students of Oriental history as the author of several important works on the economics of the Mogul empire: and he has from time to time published papers in this *Journal* and elsewhere dealing with special aspects of the Mogul Revenue System. In his new treatise he has given us in full detail his views on the whole question of the Moslem agrarian system in India.

He has undertaken a formidable task. There are few subjects more difficult to grasp than a description of a particular system of land revenue in the working of which the reader has not had actual experience. In any such description the omission of a single detail may entirely alter the impression created. The subject, moreover, lends itself to technical language, and those whose duty it is to deal with it have in all ages delighted in mystifying others by their technicalities. When the description is given in a language foreign to the reader, when the technicalities are in a language foreign to the country where they are used, when the meaning of technical terms varies both from time to time and from place to place, when the description of any given system may be set forth by compilers who incorporate the reports of others, and when these compilers take pleasure in varying the technical words used in order to suit their literary style, the difficulties in the way of the historical investigator may well seem almost insuperable. All these impediments lay in Mr. Moreland's path, and he had also to contend with the singular liability of printers and copyists to go astray in the reproduction of texts of the kind with which he has had to deal.

He has faced these difficulties with courage and also with prudence. There are few jargons more widespread through the length and breadth of India than the Persian technicalities of the land revenue, but Mr. Moreland has wisely determined to foreswear "haftams" and "panjams" and to employ an English terminology which he has himself carefully defined. He has a thorough personal knowledge of revenue conditions throughout a large part—and that the most typical part—of the area with which he is dealing, and although a personal knowledge of this kind not infrequently goes some way to disqualify an expert from appreciating systems unfamiliar to his own experience, Mr. Moreland has exhibited a complete understanding of forms of assessment very different from those now prevailing in the tracts where his own experience has lain. He has avoided the temptation to describe old systems in the terms of the current administration, and the further temptation to deduce economic or political conclusions from comparisons between the ancient and the modern conditions; such comparisons would no doubt be of great interest, and few could be better fitted to make them than Mr. Moreland, but they are outside the scope of his present work. His treatise is a purely historical inquiry. He gives us the facts and the authorities, and if he has at times to put forward views based on conjecture, his conjecture is untinged by any partialities or prejudices outside the purely historical issue.

He himself recognizes fully the uneven and scrappy nature of the evidence on which he has to rely, and the slender basis it provides for anything in the shape of complete or definite conclusions of a dogmatic character "We know much, if not everything," he says, "regarding certain periods during which the State entered into direct relations with some, or all, the peasants owning its authority; but, measured by time, these periods are merely episodes, and we know very much less of the rest of the story. A few great names—Alāuddīn, Sher Shāh, or Akbar, Todar Mal, or Murshid Qulī—

stand out like mountain tops rising clear-cut above a sea of mist; but for a just appreciation of their significance we need to obtain a view of the much wider country which the mist conceals. I cannot claim to have presented that view as a whole, but in places the mist allows occasional glimpses of portions of it, and in the paragraphs which follow, I base on these glimpses a hypothetical reconstruction, which I offer, not as fact established by evidence, but as tentative inference, to be confirmed or modified in the light of further knowledge."

His survey covers the whole period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, and there is much that is both new and interesting in his sketch of conditions under the earlier Muslim dominion and his description of the developments under the later Moguls, but the portion of his work that will probably present the greatest features of interest to his readers is that which deals with the reign of Akbar (1556–1605). The account of Akbar's revenue given by Abû-l-fazl in the eleventh to the fifteenth sections of the Third Book of the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī has been long open to English readers in translation, and many British officials working at modern problems of assessment have turned to those sections for information. Unfortunately, owing partly to their own prepossessions and partly to the faultiness of the translations and corruptions of the text, they have only too frequently been led into error Some have failed to realize that a "fixed assessment" in the modern sense was unknown to Akbar's officers. Others have imagined that Akbar introduced a settlement with a term of ten years. Others have deduced from one of the sections that Akbar's assessments were based on a careful classification of soils. Others, misled by a faulty reading of the manuscripts in another section, have gained the impression that Akbar applied to all crops the rates based on the highest class of crops. All these imaginings are set at rest by Mr. Moreland's exposition of the facts. He goes back to the Persian text and collates

the various readings where it is corrupt. The information thus made available has been carefully compared with that given in the *Akbarnāma* and elsewhere, and although he has not infrequently to admit uncertainty and to have recourse to conjecture, he has been able to piece together an outline of the systems described in the Ā'īn which in view of his experience and research we may well accept as authoritative.

To give a brief and intelligible exposition of these systems without falling into pitfalls would need Mr Moreland's own practised hand, but, subject to necessary qualifications (more especially with regard to the subject of Valuation mentioned below), it may be said that in the standard Provinces of Northern India the question of assessment passed in Akbar's time through three main stages.

From 1561 to 1565 the cash demand for each harvest, representing one-third of the produce, rested on an assumed fixed rate of outturn (that adopted by Sher Shāh) for each crop and an assumed price applied each year to these outturns, the assumed rate of outturn and the assumed prices being uniform throughout the Empire.

From the year 1565 a certain amount of local differentiation was increasingly applied to the assumed price rates in each harvest; and from the year 1570 a degree of differentiation by circles or parganas was introduced in the assumed fixed rate of outturn.

Under the above arrangements the price rates still varied from year to year, and could not be applied in any harvest without sanction from headquarters. Accordingly, in 1580, Akbar, while maintaining the rates of outturn then in force, introduced a schedule of fixed prices for each crop, representing the average of those assumed in the previous ten years.

Or, as Mr. Moreland puts it, "a uniform set of grain rates per bigah, valued first at uniform, and then at local, prices, gave way to local grain rates valued at local prices; and

when commutation broke down, schedules of cash rates were fixed on the basis of past experience." The difficulty throughout was with the commutation prices. The use of a single uniform price for each crop in each year throughout the Empire had soon to be abandoned, but the adoption of different prices for different areas, each of which had to be referred for sanction at each harvest, was still more vexatious. The great reform introduced by Akbar was the adoption of fixed average prices for each locality which would not need to be referred for approval. The extraordinary feature of the arrangement is that no one seems to have felt that there was any hardship in applying these prices to rates of crop outturn which, though differentiated to some extent by locality, were applied uniformly to all established cultivation irrespective of varieties of soil or means of irrigation.

The above is, of course, but a bald abstract of one item in Mr. Moreland's *menu*. To appreciate his fare fully we must follow him in his explanations—sometimes provisional explanations only—of a number of specialized terms: such, for instance, as the *ray'* or schedule of crop rates (a word which, by the by, though defined in the Glossary, fails to find a place in the otherwise admirable index), the *dastūr-ul-'amal*, the *raqamī* or *qalamī jamā'*, the system of *muqtī'*, assessments by *nasaq*, *zabtī* rates, and so forth. It is profitable, too, to follow him in his analysis of the Nineteen-Year Cash Rates of the 15th Ā'īn and to note his interesting discovery (already published by him in this *Journal*) that the relation between the prices of the various crops in the Tables of the Ā'īn is very much the same as in 1910–12. "Prices of wheat and gram, for instance," he writes, "have varied enormously in the course of six centuries, but the value of a pound of wheat in terms of a pound of gram has been one of the most stable relations in history"

The most marked feature of Mr. Moreland's book is, however, his insistence on the fact, which has been imperfectly realized by previous writers, that during the flourishing

period of the Mogul power the rule was to pay the servants of the state by assignments of land revenue, and the exception to pay them from the Treasury. "*Almost throughout the period,*" *he says,* "*the great bulk of the Empire, sometimes seven-eighths of the whole, was in the hands of assignees.*" *Instead of arranging for the collection of revenue in a treasury* and its subsequent disbursement from the treasury to the officials, each official was assigned the land revenue on an area calculated to bring in the value of his salary, and he collected the revenue himself. Land revenue became in fact the currency in which the officials were paid. It was accordingly necessary for the headquarter offices to have information as to the probable income of the different areas during a term of years. The actual assessment for a particular harvest or year—the Demand, as Mr. Moreland terms it—was inadequate for this purpose owing to variations from year to year in the area sown and the yield at harvest, and the headquarter offices were more concerned with the standard or probable average income of each village or pargana, a hypothetical but very valuable item which Mr Moreland labels as the Valuation This aspect of the Mogul system alters very seriously the manner in which the historical data present themselves, and it explains many passages in the authorities which were before obscure, including the heart-breaking sentence at the end of the 15th Ā'īn about the rates applied to the best crops. Whether, as Mr Moreland surmises, there were no data of demand available in assigned areas is perhaps open to argument in view of the constant changes in the assignments, but it seems likely enough, as he suggests, that the Provincial *jama's* given in the Ā'īn represent the valuation reached in 1580, with only local modifications up to the date of their incorporation in the Ā'īn.

Mr. Moreland discusses the contents of two *farmāns* of Aurangzeb which bear on the agrarian policy of the day; and it is permissible to hope the diligence of Indian students may unearth *farmāns* and *sanads* of earlier date also, which

would throw further light on the questions raised in Mr. Moreland's scholarly treatise.

It is a satisfaction to observe from Mr. Moreland's Preface that he has received assistance in his researches from the officials of this Society and has obtained help from the Society's Library. It is a distinction for the Society to have lent a hand in the preparation of a book of this calibre.

E. D. M.

A HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY, being a study of the Political Relation of the Mughal Empire with Koch Bihar, Kamrup, and Assam. By SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, xxv + 434 pp., with map. Calcutta: Chuckerverrty Chatterjee, 1929. Price 15*s*.

After two preliminary chapters, dealing with "The Land, the People and their Early History" and "The pre-Mughal Muslim Relation with North-Eastern India", Mr. Bhattacharyay devotes the rest of this volume to describing the relations of the Mug͟hal emperors with the Mongoloid states of the North-East Frontier from the time of Akbar's final conquest of Bengal in 1576 up to the year 1682, in the reign of Aurangzeb, when the Ahoms drove the Mug͟hals out of Kāmrūp, never to return. In the first chapter special attention is fitly directed to the geographical features of the area concerned, the peculiarities of which have so largely shaped its history, so much so that there is a remarkable sameness about the many ill-fated invasions of the upper Brahmaputra basin. In the second chapter we have a somewhat detailed summary of the earlier expeditions against this frontier, from the time of Muḥammad bin Bak͟htyār's disastrous incursion into Tibet, of *circa* 1206, down to the beginning of Humāyūn's reign. Some of these expeditions are still more or less conjectural, and where substantiated only by coin finds, require further corroboration. For the history of the period 1576–1682 the data are more abundant. There are the voluminous

Assam and Ahom *buranjis*, a prolific and very valuable source of information; and then we have the numerous references to this area in the better known Muhammadan histories. But, besides these, there are two works, which, though less known, are of special importance for particular periods, namely, the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, of which an apparently unique manuscript [1] is possessed by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the *Fathiya-i-ibriya* of Shihābu'd-dīn Tālish. The discovery of the value of the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī* lies to the credit of the well-known historian, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, who first published a full table of its contents in the *JBORS*. March, 1921 (vol. vii, p. 1 f.). It is valuable not only for the fresh information it gives regarding the subjugation of the Bengal and Orissa zamīndārs in Jahāngīr's reign, but also for the details furnished in respect of the campaigns in Kāmrūp and its vicinity during the years 1612–24, in which the author himself took a prominent part. The *Fathiya-i-ibriya* has been longer known. In 1845 M. Théodore Pavie translated into French a Hindūstānī version of Shihābu'd-dīn's history from a manuscript in the collection of M. Garcin de Tassy. Blochmann gave an analysis of the work in *JASB*. 1872, from the Persian MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and Mr. Jadunath Sarkar published a literal translation of the portion describing Assam and its people in *JBORS*. December, 1915 (vol. i, pp. 179–95), after collating three different manuscripts. The work is of essential value for the most important of all the campaigns, namely that of 1661–3, under the personal command of Aurangzeb's great general, Mīr Jumla, whom the author accompanied in the capacity of news-writer; so that it constitutes to all intents and purposes an official record of the operations.

The chief value of the present work lies in the fact that Mr. Bhattacharyya has made an intensive and critical study

[1] This seems to have been one of the many manuscripts collected by Colonel J. B. J. Gentil, and presented by him to the *Bibliothèque du Roi* after his retirement to France in 1778.

of all this material, as well as of all the epigraphical and numismatic evidence available to date, enabling him to correct several errors in the accounts of previous historians and to present a much fuller and more consecutive history of the times than has hitherto been attempted. The narrative has been subdivided into periods, each thought to mark a distinctive line of policy, e.g. the policies of "defensive alliance", "subordinate alliance" and "aggressive imperialism", and "defensive and constructive policy", "imperialism at its acme", etc. These somewhat fanciful headings tend to give the impression that the Mughals had from time to time determined fixed lines of policy to be pursued in respect of these outlying states, whereas the fact seems to be that the ever-changing local conditions and the erratic behaviour of the rulers, so often at feud *inter se*, rendered any continuity of policy impracticable, if not impossible. It is notorious, moreover, that any action taken or policy pursued depended chiefly upon the character and aims of the provincial governor for the time being. That Akbar would sanction "a peaceful and defensive alliance, established on equal terms" with the Koch Bihār chief (whom Abul Fazl has described as a "landholder", and a successor of whom Jahāngīr, in his *Memoirs*, once refers to by the same title) is hardly to be credited. A tendency has perhaps been shown to over-estimate the importance attached by the Mughal Court to the rulers of these frontier states; and the views expressed as to the motives and designs of the Mughal Government in their several campaigns are not always convincing. Take, for instance, the case of Mīr Jumla's invasion. This is ascribed (p. 313) to a scheme of deliberate territorial aggression evolved by the viceroy with the tacit consent and approval of Aurangzeb. A simpler explanation, however, suggests itself, namely, that the hostile activities of Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa and Jagadhvaja and the failure of Rashīd Khān and Sujan Singh, whom he had deputed in the first instance to restore order, left no alternative to a soldier of Mīr Jumla's

calibre but to take the field himself with an adequate force. By the death of Mīr Jumla, Aurangzeb lost more than Kāmrūp and Koch Bihār; and in regard to the sequel it may be added that had Shāyista Khān been younger, and not so fully occupied otherwise in the earlier years of his viceroyalty, and had more capable officers been deputed to the charge of Kāmrūp, the fruits of Mīr Jumla's campaign would not have been so rapidly lost. But disintegration was setting in upon other frontiers as well.

The author's reference to the kingdom of Kāmrūp as having "originated from its parent state of Koch Bihār" (p. 116) perhaps calls for comment. Koch Bihār, as the name of a separate state, is a mushroom growth as compared with Kāmrūp, which was the name of an extensive and important kingdom from the earliest times, and is constantly referred to in the Purāṇas and old records, down to the time of the Pālas. Minhāj-i-Sirāj calls it Kāmrūd, and Ibn Batuta, Kāmrū. The ancient name survived the Ahom irruption, and still persists as the name of a small area forming one of the districts of Assam: it was its area and its rulers that changed from time to time.

We notice a number of clerical errors and some misprints in dates (e.g. on p. 288, l 9, 1601 should read 1641; on p. 314, 19, 1681 should read 1691; in App. B, 1680 should be read for 1683 as the beginning of the second viceroyalty of Shāyista Khān). The provenance of passages quoted within inverted commas has not always been noted. These defects and some unnecessary repetition will, no doubt, be remedied in the next edition of a work that otherwise discloses much industrious research, supplies a distinct want, and gives promise of further useful historical work on the part of the author.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Vol. v: British India, 1497–1858. Edited by H. H. DODWELL, M.A. 9½ × 6½, xxii + 683 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1929. Price 30s

This is the third volume to appear of the *Cambridge History of India*, and deals with the period 1497–1858, which, roughly speaking, includes about a century before the British connection with the country. Following the arrangement of preceding volumes, it consists of a series of monographs, in 32 chapters, by many authors on the political and administrative phases of the period. In the first chapter Sir Denison Ross gives a survey of the Portuguese relations with India during the hundred years 1498–1598, when they practically held a monopoly of the eastern trade This is followed by an account of the Dutch in India by Dr. P. Geyl, and of the French factories by M. Henri Froidevaux; while M. Alfred Martineau, who has done so much to elucidate the history of his compatriots in India, furnishes an instructive chapter on those two great Frenchmen, Dupleix and Bussy. The histories of the Portuguese and French in India have received attention at the hands of English historians, but the importance of the Dutch connexion with that country in the 17th and 18th centuries has been insufficiently realized in the past, owing, perhaps, to the fact that the Dutch ultimately concentrated upon the development of their possessions in the Archipelago, which were enough to absorb their whole attention, and where they were less exposed to interference from other European powers. Dr. Geyl's concise and impartial review is all the more welcome on this account. Sir William Foster, as might be expected from his unique knowledge of the subject, contributes a masterly account of the history of the East India Company from 1600 to 1740; the matter is judiciously selected, and the arrangement appropriate. Mr. Dodwell, the editor of the volume, who contributes no less than eight chapters, gives an interesting and in some respects a fresh review of Clive's work in Bengal in 1756–60.

His chapters on Carnatic and Mysore affairs show close familiarity with the history of Southern India during the eighteenth century. Among the best chapters in the volume are those by Mr. P. E. Roberts on the East India Company and the State, and on the events with which the reputation of Warren Hastings is so closely associated. These chapters are characterized by a breadth of view and judicial spirit not often shown in treating of the incidents concerned. It is hard for an English historian of the present day to appreciate the effect of the peculiar local conditions at the time when action was taken; and Mr. Roberts has shown that he is fully cognizant of this difficulty. The Dean of Winchester tells the stories of Tipu Sultan and of Oudh under Cornwallis, Shore and Wellesley with his habitual command of style. The important subject of our struggles with the Marāṭhās, who at one time threatened to dominate the whole country, has been dealt with by two very competent scholars, the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes and the late Col. Luard, whose untimely deaths we greatly deplore. Our relations with Afghānistān under Lords Auckland and Ellenborough and the melancholy tale of what is generally known as the first Afghan war have been ably and lucidly handled by Mr. W. A. J. Archbold, who also contributes a concise but clear account of the conquest of Sind and the Panjāb. The least attractive chapters, perhaps, are those dealing with purely administrative details, with the exception of Mr. Gwynn's excellent sketch of the development of the Madras system down to 1818, which reveals the hand of an expert.

While avoiding detail generally, one or two points may be noticed. At p. 166 Caillaud is said to have relieved Patna by the action at Sirpur (22nd February, 1760). The little village that gave its name to this battle is not Sirpur, but Sherpur, which lies about 4 miles E S.E. of Bakhtyārpur, and some 10 miles (a distance correctly recorded by Ironside) W.S.W. from Bāṛh. At p. 169 the Shāhzāda is stated to have

been defeated by Carnac on the 15th January, 1761, "on the Son". The battle in question, however, was fought nowhere near the Son, but between Hilsā and Bihār, near an old channel of the Mohāna River Carnac's "Suan" and Ironside's "Soane" are but corruptions of a local name. The site of the battle is marked on Rennell's maps (of 1773 and 1779). Again, at p. 174, in reference to Hector Munro's campaign of 1764, it is stated that Munro "invaded Oudh, and on 22nd October, after a stubborn contest, completely defeated the enemy at Baksar" There is a place called Baksar in the Unao district of Oudh, but Munro never went so far up country as this. This famous, and fateful, battle was fought, not in Oudh but at Buxar (the English form of the local vernacular name, Baghsar) in the Shāhābād district of Bihār on the 23rd (not 22nd) October, 1764 The spelling of names and Oriental words also leaves something to be desired. Three examples may be cited: (1) Mongir. The name, as known to Indians, is Munger. This has been anglicized into Monghyr. It is undesirable to add to these corrupt spellings of place names (2) Kavari. The correct name of this river is Kāvēri (3) Diwanni. The word is *dīwānī*, so that one *n* only is required. The absence of maps will also be felt by many readers to whom the geography of India is not familiar

The difficulties that beset the task of writing a connected history of the whole of India have been indicated by the late Mr. V A. Smith in the introduction to his *Oxford History of India* The plan adopted in the Cambridge History meets some of these, but necessarily involves others, such as overlapping or repetition, unevenness, and even discrepancy; and the difficult nature of the editor's task can easily be imagined. At least, he should not be held responsible for the inequality of standard attained.

C. E. A. W. O.

Romantic Tales from the Punjab, with Indian Nights' Entertainment. Collected and edited from original sources by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton, F.S.A., with numerous illustrations by Mool Chund of Ulwar. Vol. i of a new issue. 7½ × 5, xv + 353 pp. Oxford University Press, 1928. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Folk tales of this character are to be found the world over. They abound among most of the peoples of India, where they are often handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation by the local bards or reciters. Interesting from the point of view of comparative folklore, and not infrequently enshrining information of ethnological or linguistic or even historical value, they present a vast field for research and study, such as has been applied to the sagas of other countries. A debt of gratitude is due to men like the late Mr Swynnerton who have got into close touch with the people and have devoted time and labour to the faithful record of the local versions of the tales from the lips of the village folk, who so often preserve genuine tradition more undefiled than the more literate population of the towns Mr. Swynnerton's intention, apparently, was to reissue all the stories contained in his *Romantic Tales from the Panjab* and his *Indian Nights' Entertainment* in three volumes, most of the descriptive detail in the original introduction to the *Romantic Tales* being brought up to date in an appendix to appear with the final volume, with explanatory, historical and philological notes and a general index. Only the first volume of this reissue has been printed, containing some thirty legends, including the widely current story of Hīr and Rānjha, and twelve tales of the popular Rasālu legend. We understand, with regret, that no further volumes will now be published.

C. E. A. W. O.

Le Concile de Rājagṛha: Introduction à l'histoire des Canons et des Sectes bouddhiques. By Jean Przyluski. 10½ × 7, vi + 434 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926–8. Price fr. 200.

Many years ago Minayeff advanced the thesis that the then available accounts of the first Buddhist Council contained matter of widely differing periods and, as regards the constitution of the Canon, were tendencious in character. That the ensuing discussions bore no definite results was due to the incompleteness of the material; this want has now been made good by Professor Przyluski, who gives us in this book translations of fourteen accounts from the Chinese as well as of that of the *Cullavagga*, that is, of all the accounts which have any value, if we except that of the *Dulva* translated by Rockhill. The deductions drawn by the author from a comparison of these accounts are set out in six chapters which are rendered attractive by the brilliant theorizing we have learnt to expect from him The most important results are given in the chapters on the inter-relationship of the Buddhist sects and the growth, especially the later growth, of the various Canons, in which the evidence is handled so well that his conclusions will, no doubt, be accepted in the main. While the same cannot be said of the chapter on the Samgha and of the final summary, which combine much that is excellent with much that, if stimulating to thought, is highly disputable, I can only find room here for a brief criticism of the other two chapters.

Of the fourteen versions taken from the Chinese, ten belong to the Sūtra literature and four, which like the *Cullavagga* represent the fully developed state of the legend, to the Vinaya. The most instructive account is to be found in the *Kia-ye kie king*, a sūtra translated by itself about the middle of the second century A.D, at which date it was the practice to extract specially important passages from the canonical compilations and translate them independently of their context. It consists of twenty gāthās or double gāthās with a more detailed version in prose interspersed. These verses by themselves would, with only the addition of the speakers' names, form a complete and intelligible poem of the type of those in the *Sutta-Nipāta*; several of the verses

recur in later versions and echoes of them may be traced in others. The important points of this poem are that it names Kāśyapa as the convener of the Assembly, though it does not mention the place of meeting; that it gives prominence to the story of Gavāmpati which tends to disappear in the latest accounts, especially in the Vinaya; that it knows nothing of Ānanda's failure to obtain Arhatship or of his indictment, describing him on the contrary as "le premier de l'Assemblée"; and that it makes him recite the entire law (including the "interdictions", i.e. the śikṣāpadas), the terms used suggesting that there were neither separate pitakas nor āgamas (nikāyas) then in existence. There is nothing tendencious in it and, except for the Gavāmpati episode, nothing prima facie incredible or improbable. It seems to be centuries older than any other extant version and to be the source from which they derive by way of legendary accretion and tendencious additions, such as that of Purāṇa, of which an ingenious and apparently sound explanation is given in chapter iv. The developed version given in the prose portion is much later and has no special authority.

I have dwelt at some length on this poem, because it is Professor Przyluski's failure fully to grasp its significance that seems to me responsible for his unsatisfactory mythological explanations in chapters i and ii of the episodes of Gavāmpati and of Ānanda's indictment. The former is said to be a Buddhist version of the Rudra-Śiva myths, but the only substantal evidence for it lies in later additions to the legend which require no such elaborate explanations, and in the connexion of Gavāmpati with Śiva's bull in Burma, which belongs to a much later period when Buddhism had been contaminated by Śaivism. If we keep to the oldest version, the explanation is neither necessary nor probable.[1]

[1] Is it not possible, by the way, that the *che-li* grove of this version (according to Przyluski *che-li* = *śirīṣa*, a sub-Himalayan acacia) is identical with the Añjanavana on the Sarabhū of the commentary on *Theragâthâ*, 38? The tree indicated by *añjana* is uncertain and the trees

The indictment of Ānanda similarly is identified with a scapegoat ceremony at the pravāraṇā. Now this episode rests on the story that Ānanda had not obtained Arhatship at the time of the Buddha's decease, but, while universally accepted later on, it does not appear till the latest stage of the Pali Nikāyas and then in circumstances that suggest interpolation (e.g. *Dīgha*, ii, 143; *Ang.* i, 225); on the face of it it is merely an invention to allay monkish scruples aroused by certain of Ānanda's traditional actions. Not only is it not mentioned in the poem of the *Kia-ye kie king*, but it is also quite inconsistent with the wording of it, so that the story is later than the gāthās. If the author's explanation is correct, the idea of a scapegoat ceremony must still have attached to the pravāraṇā ritual in the minds of those who concocted the legend, that is, at a time when the Canon had reached an advanced stage, and we should, therefore, expect still to find traces of it in the literature. There are no such traces, and the theory rests in the air without evidence to support it.

Inability, however, to accept all Professor Przyluski's views does not imply any lack of appreciation of a brilliant and important book, which makes a serious addition to our knowledge and merits careful study by all interested in the history of Buddhism.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

A VOYAGE TO SURAT IN THE YEAR 1689. By J. OVINGTON. Edited by H. G RAWLINSON, M.A., Indian Educational Service. 7¼ × 5. xx + 313 pp. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. 12*s*. 6*d*. net.

Ovington deserved reprinting. It is true that his narrative has many defects. He was not a heaven-born geographer;

of similar names in the modern vernaculars do not belong to Oudh. I would suggest that it might mean the sisam, Dalbergia latifolia, which Watts notes as being said to produce a gum and an oil. It is not uncommon in this part of India and Watts gives *siras* as one of its vernacular names, which seems to imply a confusion of name with the *śirīṣa*.

his experience of India was limited to one term of service as chaplain on the West Coast; like some other writers of the time, he made mistakes, he borrowed without acknowledgment, he generalized, and he philosophized; but, after all necessary deductions, there remains an amount of first-hand observation, which makes the book indispensable to serious students of India at the close of the seventeenth century. The question for a reviewer is, therefore, the presentation, not the substance, of the narrative.

The text, spelling and all, is an exact reproduction of the original narrative, except that some printer's errors have been corrected. Mr. Rawlinson states that he has omitted the Appendix (which can well be spared), but this is not quite accurate, for one section of it—the "Collection of Coyns now currant . . ."—is reproduced without explanation or comment. As it stands, this section is hopelessly unintelligible to ordinary readers; if anyone desires to elucidate it, he will find the beginning of wisdom on p. 256 of *The English Factories in India*, 1665-7. Ovington's illustrations of Bombay are unfortunately not reproduced, but in their place we are given four pictures, with scarcely a hint of their source or their relevance. There may be two opinions as to the practice of introducing new illustrations in such books, but there can be no doubt that, if this is done, enough information should be given to enable the reader to decide whether or not he is seeing what the author saw, or, in other words, whether they are illustrations or just pictures.

The editor's introduction is concise and informing. It does not give us a complete delineation of Ovington the man, but that task is now probably impossible, and it tells us much that was not previously known. The notes, too, are concise, and as a rule they are adequate and correct, but some exceptions to this general statement must be pointed out. As regards adequacy, there is the "Collection of Coyns", already mentioned, which cries out for elucidation. Again, there are various archaisms which should be explained,

especially in a book which will be read so widely in India: one cannot expect ordinary Indians to understand "purchase" in the sense of "prize" (p. 100), or "unmanured" in the sense of "uncultivated" (p. 290). Apart from archaisms, there are various puzzles, of which I may instance two. What was the "Bottled Drink" which frothed and flew about (p. 230) when opened? Did the Surat factors at this time drink sparkling wine? Or is this a very early—perhaps the earliest—reference to bottled beer? Or, again, why was the devil called "Gregory" in the Island of Johanna? That question has puzzled me for years: perhaps it has puzzled Mr. Rawlinson, too; but, anyhow, he ignores it.

The notes contain some misleading half, or quarter, truths. Thus (p. 167) calico is defined as "cottons from Calicut". Probably the first cotton goods to reach Western Europe were, in fact, shipped from Calicut, but in Ovington's time calico had entirely lost this meaning, and denoted stout cotton cloth made in any part of India. Again, a false picture is evoked by the statement (p. 139) that the Fauzdār (faujdār) "was the chief of police". In those days there were no police in the modern sense: the faujdār was in charge of the general administration, and his troops, among other duties, did what would now be called police-work. The note on units of weight (p. 133) is unsatisfactory. There is only a reference to Fryer and Hobson-Jobson, followed by the irrelevant scale now in force in British India, which is quaintly described as "the Bombay rate", as though one should describe the avoirdupois scale under the name of "Liverpool". The passage needs elucidation, because Ovington's ser of 13⅓ oz. points to the old Gujarat maund of about 33 lb. This was superseded in Surat in 1636 by the half-Shahjahani of about 37 lb., which lasted at any rate up to Fryer's time. Either then Surat had recently reverted to the old Gujarat maund, or Ovington took his figures from some obsolete book: the reader should be told which alternative is true. Again, the note on

"cuttanee, etc." (p. 131), will probably lead the reader to infer that the fabrics named were among the staple cotton-goods produced in India, but the text shows that they were "rich silks"; in fact, Ovington's omission to say anything about the staple production of Gujarat is one of the most striking features of his account. There are other defects in the notes, but the examples given suffice to show that they are not entirely satisfactory.

Lastly, I may note two obscure passages where my reading differs from Mr. Rawlinson's. On p. 131 we have "aggats, cornelians, niggannees, desks, scrutores, and boxes". Mr. Rawlinson takes the third word as "niccanees", one of the lowest grades of cotton goods, but I doubt if even so unsystematic a writer would have inserted these "slave-clouts" among art ware; more probably Ovington wrote niggarrees, which would be a commercial description of some decorated goods, formed from the Persian *nigār*. On p. 243, "a garden near that of Nocha Damus's" is referred to the village of Nava Dumas; but this is rather violent, and does not account for the possessive case. I suspect the garden belonged to a ship's captain—Nākhudā Mūsa.

These criticisms on points of detail must not be read as a condemnation of the book as a whole. It gives the student a sound and trustworthy text, which is the most important thing; the presentation falls short in some respects of the ideal.

W. H. Moreland.

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China. Vol. v (supplementary), 1742–74. By H. B. Morse, LL.D. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, x + 212 pp., 2 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Price 15*s*.

At the time when Dr. Morse was preparing his comprehensive account of the history of the East India Company's trade with China (issued in 1926), he was troubled to find

that the official records were entirely silent as regards the period 1754–74 and very imperfect for the preceding eleven years. There seemed to be no hope of filling the gap satisfactorily, and so he was obliged to do the best he could with such information as he could procure from other sources. However, after the publication of his work it struck him that the duplicate records which must have been preserved at the Canton factory had never been accounted for; and after diligent inquiry it was found that these had found their way to the British Legation at Peking. The authorities were easily persuaded to send them home, and they were then added to the existing series at the India Office. On examining them Dr. Morse discovered that while from 1742 to 1757 the fresh material was more or less fragmentary, for the later years a considerable amount of new information was forthcoming. With characteristic energy he set to work once more, and the present volume is the welcome result.

The subject is dealt with on the same lines as in the main work, with a close analysis of the method of trading, the cargoes purchased, and so forth. The narrative is rather melancholy reading, for it is full of the humiliations inflicted on the foreign merchants, the contemptuous treatment of their remonstrances, and the shameless exploitation of their needs by the local officials. The conditions of trade at Canton being so unsatisfactory, attempts were made in 1755–7 to open up commercial relations at Ningpo; but the Chinese authorities soon countered this move by forbidding foreign ships to resort to any other port than Canton. In 1759 some mitigation of the abuses there was experienced, as the result of a petition, which had been got through to the imperial court; but Mr. Flint, who had translated it into Chinese and presented it to the central authorities, was punished by three years' detention at Macao. In 1760 was established the system under which the European merchants were allowed to trade only with an association of Canton merchants—a system which lasted until the treaty of Nanking in 1842.

It is impossible to do more than indicate very briefly the nature of the fresh information provided. Needless to say, the volume displays on every page its author's thorough grasp of the subject, of which he has an unrivalled knowledge; while the statistical and other details it contains will make it indispensable both to the student of economics and to everyone interested in the foreign trade of the British Empire.

W. F.

INDIAN STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN. 10 × 6½, x + 258 pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929. Price £1 2*s* 6*d*

This volume in the familiar dark blue cover and fine typography of the Harvard Oriental Series comprises in various sections articles by Meillet, Bloomfield, Edgerton, and Andersen; Lévi, Rapson, and Konow; Geldner and Formichi; Takakusu, Kimura, Ono, Ui, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Hopkins, Poussin, and Haughton Woods; Masson-Oursel and Jacobi, Keith, Belvalkar, F. W. Thomas, and Ryder; W. E Clark, Jolly, Grierson; and, finally, three Indo-Iranian notes by Williams Jackson Such a list of contributors might well be left to speak for itself. But an indication of some topics and points of view will perhaps be of use.

Buddhism occupies nearly one-quarter of the volume, and in this section Japanese contributors rally in support of Takakusu's dating of Vasubandhu (420–500) against Péri's proposed date (*d* 350). Ui assigns to Maitreya, as an historical person and instructor of Asanga, seven works commonly attributed to Asanga, and fixes the *terminus ad quem* for Maitreya at A.D. 350; but he would not place Vasubandhu later than 320–400. It does not seem that Takakusu's hope of settling the question once for all has been realized in the lapse of a quarter of a century since his first discussion of

the problem. The remaining articles treat of Buddhist teaching. Mrs. Rhys Davids, in some characteristic remarks on "The Well", says that Theravāda Buddhism teaches in negatives, and therefore fails to find worthy words for "the well" and "the man". "Men cannot eviscerate religion of so much as did Theravāda Buddhism and yet preserve the kernel." Hopkins says the same thing in another way in an article entitled "Buddhistic Mysticism": "In the Buddhism of the Great Vehicle . . is found the real mysticism of metaphysical theology, Gautama the man being one with a Holy Spirit, who is a form of the Absolute. But in the records of the primitive Congregation there is no mysticism and nothing to warrant any discussion of the early Buddhist as a mystic seeking to realize himself in a new and wider world." *Nibbāna* is a blowing out, without hope of a re-illumination. Poussin and Woods end this section with brief notes on *Anguttara*, iii, 355, and Dharmapāla's commentary on *Visuddhi Magga*, vii, 203.

Keith opens the section on classical poetry with a reconsideration of Jacobi's argument for the priority of Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. He accepts the (perhaps not very cogent) evidence adduced by Jacobi of reference to Dharmakīrti in the logical section of Bhāmaha's work, and is prepared to fix A.D. 700 as the earliest date for the author; but he does not accept the argument that Daṇḍin was a critic of Bhāmaha. "We have not a single passage in which we can say with any validity that Bhāmaha is probably criticized by Daṇḍin. . . Passages adduced to prove Bhāmaha's priority have also been used for the purpose of establishing exactly the opposite conclusion and probably with about equal or superior justification." And "there is sufficient evidence to turn the scales strongly in favour of the view that Bhāmaha knew and attacked Daṇḍin". S. K. Belvalkar defends the genuineness of the longer Kashmir-Bengali version of *Śākuntala*, Act iii, on the ground that Śrīharṣa in the *Ratnāvalī* imitates the longer or "Śṛṅgāric" version. Perhaps the

most remarkable contribution *to* the volume is that in which F. W. Thomas gives an abstract (with verse-portions edited and translated) of a Tibetan version of a *Rāmāyaṇa* story, contained in four documents brought from the "hidden library" of Tun-huang on the eastern boundary of Chinese Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein, and now preserved in the India Office Library. Professor Thomas assigns these documents to the period A D. 700–900. The documents, in his opinion, go back to the same original; and the question of the original of this very interesting find—perhaps unique in character among the otherwise Buddhistic manuscripts which constitute the literary part of the Stein collections—stirs the imagination. "The story, as told, is in form and substance wholly Indian, and the interspersed verses are unmistakably Indian in style and sentiment. But we should seek in vain for an Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to which the text closely corresponds. It follows the general lines of the narrative in the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Vana-Parvan*, chaps. 274–90); but the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely, and indeed surprisingly."

In the philosophical section Jacobi's article *Mīmāṁsā und Vaiśeṣika* adduces evidence of very close connection between the early grammarians and the Mīmāṁsā, and shows that the Vaiśesika developed its new, naturalistic and realistic, *Weltanschauung* in conscious opposition to the Mīmāṁsaka standpoint Thus Kaṇāda's opening definition of *dharma*—*yato 'bhyudaya-niḥśreyasa-siddhiḥ*—taken in conjunction with the following *sūtra*—*tadvacanād āmnāyasya prāmāṇyam* (a *sūtra* obscured by the commentators, the true meaning of which is "weil er ihn lehrt, hat der Veda Autoritat")—is a complete reversal of the standpoint expressed in the Mīmāṁsaka definition, *codanālakṣaṇo dharmaḥ*, which makes the value of the command depend on the authority of Veda—and not the authority of Veda on the value of the command. In one instance Professor Jacobi has perhaps used an argument which proves too much, in

inferring that Uddyotakara would not have answered suppositious opponents of the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* with the stereotyped phrase "*na, sūtrārthāparijñānāt*", if there had been an authoritative written exposition of the meaning of the *sūtras*; and that therefore the Vaiśeṣika doctrine must have long remained oral (Praśastapāda's so-called *bhāṣya* being no true *bhāṣya*). For an equivalent phrase is used by Uddyotakara in reply to Diṅnāga's misinterpretation of *Nyāya-sūtra*, I, i, 6, of which the interpretation accepted as correct is given in the written and authoritative *bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, with which Diṅnāga shows acquaintance. Not even the authority of a written *bhāṣya* would debar opponents (whether suppositious or historical) from interpreting a *sūtra* in the sense which it seemed to bear. Professor Jacobi's argument is developed in a series of masterly interpretations of crucial passages in the *sūtras*, interpretations which cannot be summarized here but which constitute a contribution of great value to the understanding of the two systems. Some printer's errors in the Sanskrit citations have escaped correction.

In a review of a volume such as this much must be left without mention which calls for more than passing reference. There is one brilliant article in the remaining sections which may be noted in conclusion, Sylvain Lévi's *L'Inscription de Mahānāman à Bodh-Gaya*. This is a re-interpretation in the light of later knowledge of the inscription edited forty years ago by Fleet in the *Gupta Inscriptions* The ingenious reading into the first stanza of references to Vasubandhu and the *Abhidharma-kośa* may not carry complete conviction; but the explanation of the obscure second stanza seems fully to justify the claim that Buddhist epigraphy is inseparable from the study of the texts.

H. N. RANDLE.

Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram. *The domestic rules of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Critically edited by* Dr. W. Caland. *Bibliotheca Indica, Work Number 242.* $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, vii (2) + 145 pp. *Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927.*

Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram. The domestic rules and sacred laws of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Translated by Dr. W Caland. Bibliotheca Indica, Work Number 251. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxi + 237 pp. Calcutta · Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929.

The full text of the *sūtra* comprises a *gṛhya* (Praśnas i–vii) and a *dharma* section (viii–x), and concludes with a *pravara-sūtra* (xi). The last-named, "a list of proper names which agrees closely with that of the Āpastamba," is printed in an *ekādaśapraśnātmaka* Kumbakonam edition (1914), but omitted by Dr. Caland The *dharma* portion has been translated by W. Eggers in his *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas* (Göttingen, 1929, reviewed in this *Journal*, October, 1929); and the text of it was printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. 28, 1913).

Eggers in the work just mentioned has expressed the opinion that the inadequacy of the materials available makes it impossible to establish an authoritative text, and for this reason he contented himself with a translation, supported however with notes which supply an *apparatus criticus* for the *dharma* section; and he finds in Caland's text justification for this caution. Caland's materials fall into two classes, manuscripts in Telugu character, and manuscripts in Grantha; including however with the latter the Kumbakonam print, which he has "considered as a manuscript, though a fairly correct one". an attitude applicable to a number of Indian prints, which are sometimes as difficult of access as manuscripts. This particular print is in the India Office Library, but was not used by Eggers. Bühler reported North Indian manuscripts of the *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra* in Gujarat; and

Eggers states that inquiries have been made for these, but apparently without result so far.

Where a text cannot be established it follows that a translation must be at best tentative; and in this work there is one passage which both Caland and Eggers find it necessary to leave untranslated, the text being desperate. This is the account of the *sambhakta* variety of *ekārṣya* yogins given in the last section of Praśna viii. The Kumbakonam print has here some variants which Dr. Caland has not noted: *tat-sarvavyāpī hy ākāśavat tiṣṭhati* (Caland: . . . *vyāpyākāśavat* . . p. 120, l. 14; with a fault in the print which leaves the preceding *akṣara* doubtful); and in the next line *ātmanah* (Caland: *ātmānaṃ*). In l 13 Caland reads *devatāṃ namaskurvanti*, and notes *devatā* as the Kumbakonam reading: the print actually has *devatānamaskāraṃ kurvanti.* What is of more interest is that the print in the following paragraph consistently reads *Visaraka* as the name of the last class of yogins. Both Caland and Eggers give the name in the form *Visaraga*, without noting this variant. (*Visara* has a secondary meaning, "herd," which gives a point to the twice-repeated addition of the word *paśu* to the name.)

Dr. Caland uses the betel argument, and the argument from the Greek sequence of the planets and the designation of the days of the week after these planets, to fix the date of the *sūtra* (traditionally a late one) after the middle of the third century A.D. He finds in its grammatical irregularities corroboration for the view that it belongs to a period when Sanskrit was a dead language, and he suspects Tamil influence in such forms of expression as *tāṃ vivāhaṃ kurute* (but, as he himself suggests, other vernaculars might provide a parallel). A point of particular interest in this work is its relation to the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*. In vi, 21, Manu specifically refers to a *Vaikhānasa-mata*, and Dr. Caland finds in the present work (ix, 5) a passage the agreement of which with the very words of the *mata* as reported by Manu

is striking. He adduces besides a series of passages in which Manu agrees (exclusively) with this *sūtra.* "The conclusion seems to be obvious that Manu has known our Vaikhānasa-*texts.*" But a Vaikhānasa-śāstra is spoken of in the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*, which is "at least pre-Christian". There must then have been a Vaikhānasa-text older than the present one. And if so, might not Manu be speaking of this lost older text? Dr. Caland gives reasons for thinking that it is our present text to which Manu was referring; and accepts the corollary that the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra* was composed at a later date than is usually assigned.

Some of the mantras cited here by their *pratīka* only (indicating that they are to be found in the Saṃhitā or Brāhmaṇa of the school) are not found in the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* or *brāhmana.* Dr Caland has made the interesting discovery that there is a Vaikhānasīya-samhitā (preserved in a Mysore manuscript, and partly printed), and has been able to trace in it all these mantras. Its relation to the *sūtra* "is of precisely the same kind as the relation between the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha . . . and the Āpastambīya-gṛhya-sūtra". Similarly the Gṛhya-sutras of Gobhila and Khadira imply the Mantra-brāhmaṇa of the Sāmavedins; and "it is now certain that the Kāthaka-gṛhya-sūtra likewise presupposed a collection of mantras" By the edition and translation of this *sūtra*, which has the special interest of giving the most detailed account available of the *vānaprastha-dharma*, Dr. Caland's researches into *sūtra* literature have been carried an important stage forward.

H. N. Randle.

Napier's Rifles. By H. G. Rawlinson. 9 × 6, pp. ix + 200. Oxford University Press. Price 15*s*.

This is a history of a regiment distinguished even among the ever loyal units of the Bombay Army for good conduct and faithfulness. It had its origin in a force which displayed

steadfastness amid much temptation in the last Maratha war; and, as the 25th Regiment of Bombay Infantry, it won an undying reputation in Sind and the Indian Mutiny. In the former it earned the highest praise of Sir Charles Napier, whose name it bears. In the latter, it was the first Sepoy regiment to engage with the Mutineers, and achieved perhaps the greatest feat performed by Indian soldiers in that campaign, the surprise capture of the fortress of Gwalior. After creditable service in Abyssinia and Burma, it maintained its ancient reputation in the Great War, where it fought and suffered heavily on three Fronts.

The way of the regimental historian is hard. He must avoid too much quotation from Inspection Reports and Presentation Parade addresses, with which regimental records are filled. He must, on the other hand, equally avoid padding his history with descriptions of events not directly connected with the regiment, while at the same time he must summarize the condition of affairs prevailing at the time of intervention of his regiment in any particular campaign. It cannot be said that Mr. Rawlinson has entirely surmounted those difficulties. Even allowing that the regiment was immortalized in Sir William Napier's purple passages, it was surely unnecessary to quote him at such length, especially when, as Mr. Rawlinson suggests, Napier's accounts of the battles are misleading and incorrect. An unfortunate result is that the conquest of Sind is given as much space as the Great War, in spite of the quite exceptional amount of fighting which Napier's Rifles did in the latter. Summaries of the conditions of the campaigns of the War are lacking, and it may be said that the only passages that really bring home actual fighting are those extracted from Capt. Rees' diary.

From the historical point of view it is perhaps a pity that Mr. Rawlinson could not give a fuller account of the change of personnel which transformed the Corps from being a regiment of Bombay men, albeit with a strong Hindustani element,

into one recruited from Rajputana and the Panjab. It was doubtless due chiefly to the view, proved in the Great War to be entirely mistaken, but held previous to it by the military authorities at Simla, of the value of the Maratha soldier, and to the inability of Bombay in changed conditions to provide sufficient recruits; but that inability was mainly caused by the increased caste feeling among the Marathas themselves which led them to reject such other castes as Bene-Israel, Mahars, Bhandáris, and Kolis, who had before furnished much of the most trustworthy material of the Bombay regiments.

An essential of a regimental history should be absolute accuracy, if only because it should be a text-book to future generations of soldiers in the regiment When the author is so skilled a historical writer as Mr Rawlinson, we may expect accuracy of historical fact as well as of military detail. There are too many small errors in this book; and the following are quoted in the hope that subsequent correction may be possible. The Treaty by which navigation of the Indus was secured was not that of Burnes with the Mir of Khairpur, but the agreement of Pottinger with the Hyderabad Mirs in 1832, and afterwards with the Khairpur Mir. "Machans" is an incorrect phrase for the shooting booths or "Kudnas" of the Mirs Shah Shuja was deposed by Dost Mahomed, not by Sher Mahomed. Sir Charles Napier's father was not descended from Montrose. Indian troops were sent to Malta in 1878, not in 1874. An officer long with the Regiment is invariably named as Beckenham, instead of Beckham. The Lancashire Regiment mentioned as crossing the Diala River is unknown to the Army list. The book as a whole, however, is extremely readable, and is well furnished with maps and illustrations.

P. R. C.

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES. By JADUNATH SARKAR. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons. 9 × 5½, 431 pp. 1929. 5 rupees.

SOURCE BOOK OF MARATHA HISTORY. Vol. i. By R. P. PATWARDHAN and H. G. RAWLINSON. 10 × 7, ix + 243 pp. Bombay Government Central Press. 1929. Price 5 rupees.

These two books, complementary to each other, are of much value to readers of Indian history. Professor Sarkar's book is a third edition, rewritten and recast, of his standard work on the great Maratha. It is marked throughout by his well-known thoroughness and impartiality and is especially valuable for its rejection of the *bakhars* and poems which certain writers appear too ready to accept as statements of fact. Professor Sarkar regards Shivaji as the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindus have produced, and is fully appreciative of the qualities of the Maratha race, while he does not fail to indicate the weaknesses in the Maratha character, and in Shivaji's own policy. Regarding the most debated incident of Shivaji's career, the slaying of Afzal Khan, Professor Sarkar considers that the Muhammedan General struck the first blow of treachery. This may be so, but it can hardly be doubted that Shivaj's preparations for a treacherous attack were much the more complete, while the foreign writers who refer to the incident, are, as Principal Rawlinson's extracts show, unanimous that Shivaji was the aggressor. In a book so packed with fact and incident some minor errors are unavoidable The ship referred to as H.M.S. *Convertite* is the *Convertine*; but, though it had brought out some of Marlborough's soldiers, it seems at the date mentioned to have been a Company's, and not a King's, ship. Bombay was given to the English by the treaty of 1661, and not in 1668, which is the date of the cession by the Crown to the Company. The book suffers seriously from the absence of any sort of map. In the second book under review an adequate map is provided. This volume marks the first attempt to carry out an ambitious

scheme for a comprehensive Source Book of Maratha History. As such it is a useful supplement to Professor Sarkar's book; but it must be used with caution, since the Marathi sources are of varying degrees of reliability and authenticity; and these degrees are not indicated by Mr Patwardhan. The notes on the foreign sources are made with Principal Rawlinson's usual care These sources do not include the Letters recorded at the English and Dutch Factories which, as Professor Sarkar points out, are the best evidence for the facts of the period; but the English Factory Records have been fully dealt with by Sir W Foster, and we are promised a further monograph under the patronage of the Kolhapur Darbar

P. R. C.

HISTORY OF THE ASSAM RIFLES. By Colonel L. W. SHAKESPEAR $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv + 301 pp. Macmillan & Co. Price 30*s*.

This is a full account of the Military Police forces on the North-Eastern Frontier of India, which have now culminated in the five Battalions of the Assam Rifles. In addition to the more local side of the information it contains, there is much of general interest regarding a country which is too little known even to the student of Indian affairs. The area dealt with is a true meeting ground of diverse races: it contains many relics of an ancient civilization overthrown by the Jungle, and its proximity to the Frontier of the Empire invests it with an importance that may well increase with time. It is difficult to imagine any portion of India where it will be more impossible to dispense with the steel frame of British Officers. No one is better qualified, both by family connections and from personal experience, to deal with it than Colonel Shakespear. He tells the story of a century of petty hill and jungle warfare, marked by many mistakes

and reverses, as well as by much heroism, but always tending towards a gradual extension of law and order. The good work done by the Assam Rifles in the Great War, in the Moplah Rebellion, and in combating the forces of sedition in the plains of Bengal, will be new to many readers. The book is very well provided with maps and illustrations. It may be noted that the subsequent victor of Talana is referred to as Penn Symonds instead of Symons. The division of the book, doubtless for local use, by areas of country, rather than by any chronological sequence, makes it somewhat difficult reading, which is not lessened by any clarity of style; but these drawbacks are recompensed by the thorough manner in which the subject is treated.

P. R. C.

INDIA UNDER WELLESLEY. By P. E. ROBERTS. 9 × 6, xii + 323 pp. Bell. Price 15*s*.

Mr. Roberts expresses the modest hope that his work may inspire some other scholar to write the authoritative biography of the great Pro-Consul that is long overdue, but most people will agree that his book gives by far the best account yet available of Wellesley and of his great achievements in India. Mr. Roberts ranks him, we think rightly, in the class which contains Clive, Warren Hastings, and Dalhousie, without seeking to allot the individual placing. In two respects Wellesley outshone any other of the great Governors-General; his grasp of military problems and the smoothness of his relations, in spite of his all-pervading spirit, with the Governments of the Provinces. For the former he was, as Mr. Roberts points out, largely indebted to the presence and advice of his brother, the even greater Arthur Wellesley. The best justification for his policy is his own statement that, "I can declare my conscientious conviction that no greater blessing can be conferred on the Natives of India than the extension of the British authority, influence, and power." We may

fully accept this while agreeing with Mr. Roberts that, in the case of Oudh, the objects achieved were far better than the means employed to attain them. The author deals at especial length with the Treaty of Bassein, the most momentous act of Wellesley's reign, and entirely justifies it. War with the Marathas was in any case inevitable; it was better that it should come through a treaty made at his own request with the head of the Maratha confederacy, and with him, at least nominally, on our side. Without the treaty, the position of the British on Bombay Island and on the West Coast of India in general, must have continued to be precarious. Apart from the story of actual events in India, Mr. Roberts is particularly good in his treatment of the relations between the Governor-General, the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors. He realizes the difficulties in which Wellesley's policy placed the latter bodies, and does not, like most of Wellesley's admirers, abuse the Directors because they failed to agree with the Governor-General.

As the author informs us that the proofs of the book were corrected by Professor Dodwell and Sir Verney Lovett, there is naturally very little in the way of facts to be cavilled at. It was perhaps unnecessary to record the suggestion of one modern history that the death of Madhu Rao Narayan Peshwa was due to accident and not to suicide Grant Duff, at any rate, had no doubt in the matter It is not clear why the author denies to Frazer, the victor at the battle of Díg, the rank of General. Finally, though the spelling of Indian names in English always causes difficulty, and sometimes permits of doubt, there can surely be no necessity for such forms as "Serfogi", "Winaek", "Adjunta", and "Myhie". These are, however, extremely small faults in so excellent a production.

P. R. C.

Indica and Indo-Iranica by L. D. Barnett

1. BEITRÄGE ZUR ERKLÄRUNG DES AWESTAS UND DES VEDAS. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Des XL. Bandes d. Abhandl. d. philol.-hist. Klasse d. sächsischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Nr. II.) 11¾ × 7½, xxix + 284 pp. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1929.

The primary object of these studies is to corroborate and supplement the exposition of Aryan religious thought (or, more exactly speaking, "Weltanschauung") presented by the author in the introduction to his *Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta*, and a dispassionate criticism must admit that in the main they are successful. In my notice of *Die Sonne und Mithra* in this *Journal* (January, 1928), I stated my belief that Dr. Hertel's "hypothesis for the most part *works*", and this opinion is strongly confirmed by the present series of studies, in which *inter alia* a number of Avestic texts are interpreted simply and naturally with a minimum of alteration and athetesis. Dr. Hertel rightly remarks (p. viii) that it is humiliating that after more than 150 years Avestic philology has failed to understand such common prayers as the *ašəm vohū* and *yeŋhē hātąm*; that he has been able to explain them, together with other texts, without violence to grammar and common sense, is the strongest argument in favour of his general position.

The first section of the book consists of a study and interpretation of the *ašəm vohū* and the commentary upon it contained in Y. xxvii. 14 and xx, with an important chapter on the Aryan root *ar*, with its derivatives, in which Dr. Hertel, following the view of Grassman (WR., col. 110) presents an exhaustive catalogue of Vedic and Avestic words from √*ar* and roots thence derived which may bear the meaning "shine", etc. The next section deals with the Vedic *arámati* and Av. *āramaiti*, the general conclusion being that (1) *a-rámati* in RV., literally "not-resting", denotes primarily the driving of herds to pasture in the *nomad* life, and secondarily the herds' grazing grounds, and that (2) Zaraθuštra, whose main

object was to convert nomads into settled herdsmen dwelling in regular villages, with deliberate reference to *a-ramati* introduced *ā-ramati*, literally "settlement", to express his social ideal, the life of the *pastoral village*, the term secondarily meaning also the land grazed over by the herds of the village (and in the Vendīdād further, the land tilled by the agriculturist). Thirdly comes a section in which the Av. *spə̄n-*, *a-spə̄n*, *-span* are derived from √*ku* "shine," with which is also connected *saošyant* (fut. partic.) in the sense of "one who shall turn beings into (heavenly) fire", i.e. the saviour through the Mazdayasnian law; and to this are attached some remarkable studies in Avestan eschatology and the unfitness of rendering *spənta* by "holy".[1] The fourth section is devoted to Y. iii, which is printed in metrical form, and interpreted simply and naturally as an exorcism against disease and the Druj, and to this attached a study of the famous prayer *yeṅhē hātąm*, which here, we believe, is correctly explained for the first time. Last come annotated translations of three Gāθās, Y. xxxii, xliii, and xliv.

Apart from a few minor points which admit of a difference of opinion,[2] it must be admitted that the cumulative result

[1] According to Dr Hertel's view, as Zaraθuštra had declared a war of reason and economic utility against the old Aryan *daēvas* as powers of falsehood and mischief, but nevertheless the *daēvas* continued to be worshipped *mutato nomine* after him in his name by the Magians, the latter in a crude effort to assimilate his philosophic doctrines created a new class of deities, the *aməša spəntas*," radiant immortals," to take the place of the *daēvas* or "shining ones" whose name they were bidden to abhor but whose worship they maintained *Saošyant* in the Gāθās denotes Ahura Mazdāh or any being of the Ahuric order who "saves" the world by giving forth the emanation of the divine Fire or illumination; in the later Avesta it signifies (1) all who propagate the Mazdayasnian law, (2) all who believe in it and observe it, and (3) all men who belong to the Ahuric order; then, with eschatological emphasis on the future sense of the word, (4) a man of the Ahuric order in the future, (5) a mortal being of that order in the coming *frašōkərəti* (inasmuch as *saošyant* = *frašōcarətar*, "illuminator," *fraša* being for **fra-xša*, from √*xšā*, *xšāy*); then (6) Astvat-ərəta, who in the ultimate victory of Light in the world is the leader of the Ahuric powers, and finally (7) his two imaginary predecessors and the six assistants assigned to him by later doctrine.

[2] Thus I venture to doubt the suggested identification of Pūṣán with the moon (p. 89) and of the Fravašis with the stars (p. 191).

of these studies is a valuable addition to Aryan philology. A regrettable necessity has decreed that a large amount of space in them should be given to criticism and confutation of the writings of other scholars, especially Herr Lommel, whose recent work on the Yašts has drawn down upon his back abundant flagellation. Now, however, as it seems to us, Dr. Hertel by the publication of this volume has made good his fundamental principles, and henceforth we hope he will find himself relieved from the need of negative controversy, and free to devote all his time and energy to positive research.

2. MÂNAVAGṚHYASÛTRA OF THE MAITRÂYANÎYA ŚÂKHÂ, with the Commentary of AṢṬÂVAKRA. Edited with an introduction, indexes, etc., by RAMAKRISHNA HARSHAJI SASTRI, with a Preface by B. C. LELE, M.A. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxxv.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, 9 + xxxi + 258 + vi pp. Baroda, Bhavnagar printed: Oriental Institute, 1926.

3. ADVAYAVAJRASAMGRAHA. Edited with an Introduction, by MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xl.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xxxix + 68 pp. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1927.

The code of domestic rituals of the Mānava school, as represented by the Maitrāyaṇīya branch, is an old acquaintance, for an able critical edition of the text with an abridged commentary was published by Knauer in 1897 at St. Petersburg. The present edition, however, is not on that account superfluous, on the contrary, it deserves a welcome, for in addition to the text of the Sūtra, edited on the basis of new manuscript materials, it contains the commentary *Pūrana-vyākhyāna* of Aṣṭāvakra. The latter, a writer who is otherwise unknown, bears an intriguing name, apparently borrowed from the legendary sage to whom is ascribed the popular *Aṣṭāvakrā-gītā*. His commentary shows considerable merit and erudition, and is a useful contribution to the literature of Indian ritualism.

Advayavajra was a professor of the decadent school of Buddhism which expresses itself, e.g. in the *Ādi-karma-pradīpa*, and he flourished, according to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (*Sādhana-mālā*, ii, p. lxii) in the eleventh century. His *Saṃgraha* comprises twenty-one short tracts, in Sanskrit verse and prose, expounding various phases of his creed and praxis; if they teach us nothing very new, they are nevertheless of some value and interest as showing the dissolution of Mahāyāna in the muddy waters of Tantric Śāivism and the rise therefrom of a fantastic amorous mysticism, in which the idea of sex-union (*yuga-naddha*) plays a leading part, and which later reappeared in the Sahajīya movement in Bengal. The text has been edited on the basis of a single manuscript in the Darbar Library of Nepal, which is faulty in many places. As the style is often crabbed and obscure, the editor has not ventured upon extensive emendation, and presents the work in a somewhat imperfect state. This is regrettable, for a critical study of kindred works would perhaps have furnished materials which might have enabled him to emend many corruptions; and in any case, we venture to think, he would have done well to correct the errors in spelling (especially the use of *b* for *v*) which not seldom deface his pages. To the text the learned Mahāmahôpâdhyāya has prefixed surveys of the development of the Maḥāyāna schools and of Advayavajra's doctrines, which, as is usual with him, are marked by erudition and ability, but seem to us to be in places somewhat lacking in exactness and lucidity and occasionally rather arbitrary.[1] In fine, the book is a *Beitrag* to Buddhist studies for which we may be thankful, but its value would have been greatly enhanced by more careful workmanship.

[1] I take the opportunity to record with due respect my dissent from the somewhat startling view advanced on pp. ix and xxviii that the "five Dhyāni Buddhas are the Śūnya representation of the five Skandhas". What suggested the idea of the Dhyāni Buddhas is an obscure problem. To find any deities really like them, we have to step across the frontier of India into Iran, where we may discover something parallel in the post-Zoroastrian cult of the Fravašis.

4. TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES. No. xcii. THE RASOPANIṢAT. No. xciii. THE VEDÂNTAPARIBHÂṢÂ of DHARMARÂJÂDHVARÎNDRA, with the Commentary PRAKÂŚIKÂ OF PEDDÂ DÎKṢITA. No. xciv. THE BṚHADDEŚÎ OF MATANGAMUNI. No. xcv. THE RANADÎPIKÂ OF KUMÂRA GANAKA. Edited by K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ. (Śrî Setu Lakṣmî Prasâdamâlâ, Nos. iv–vii.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, (1) 3 + 4 + 211 + 20, (2) 2 + 3 + 6 + 152 + 12, (3) 1 + 2 + 3 + 155, (4) 2 + 3 + 25 pp. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1928.

The Trivandrum Series is marked by a catholic variety of subject—its motto might almost be *quidquid agunt homines*—and this multifariousness is well exemplified in the four volumes before us. The *Rasôpaniṣad* is a medical treatise of eighteen chapters, which instructs the native practitioner in the preparation and application of the various recipes compounded of mercury, and the like. The text is not in a very satisfactory condition, as only two manuscripts were available, of which one was incomplete and the other very dilapidated; but the book is nevertheless of some importance. It bears the secondary title *Mahôdadhi* (which is not, as the editor states, the name of a larger work from which the Rasôpaniṣad is extracted); and a curious feature in it is that in the beginning, after naming in advance the topics which he intends to treat in his eighteen chapters, the author proceeds to give us a list of some matters which, he says, are handled in his eighteenth chapter, but are not found in the present work, and then he announces the topics of his 24th–29th chapters, which are not existent here. It may be, as the editor suggests, that these lists of missing matters have been interpolated from some other treatise; but it seems more likely either that the work was not completed according to plan, or that the MSS. are derived from a defective archetype. Dharmarāja's work is an epitome of monistic Vēdânta which still finds much favour and has been several times printed in India. Peddā's commentary, however,

is new, and is a useful addition to available Vedantic literature. Of Peddā himself, nothing is known, though the wording of his reference to Dharmarāja suggests discipleship; the editor, however, is of opinion that he may be the same as Pettā Śāstrin, otherwise known as Hṛṣīkēśa, who composed a commentary on the *Chandō-viciti*, and this view has some probability. The *Bṛhad-dēśī*, or "great treatise on sound" (*dēśī* being somewhat quaintly derived from *dēśa*, in the sense that sound is heard in every place), is a manual of music ascribed to a probably mythical Mataṅga Muni, and has some value, especially as it borrows freely from ancient sources; but it is incomplete, breaking off abruptly at the end of the sixth chapter with an unfulfilled promise to discuss the subject of *vādya-nirnaya*. As with the *Rasôpaniṣad*, the text is based upon only two defective MSS., and leaves much to be desired; the editor however, consoles us by a conditional promise to publish in his series Dattila's ancient handbook of music—a pleasing prospect. Finally, we have in the *Raṇa-dīpikā* a little manual of the art of war from the astrologer's standpoint, which in not very correct Sanskrit retails recipes whereby the *ganaka* may guide an ambitious monarch to victory by due observance of the rules concerning the lucky positions of the heavenly bodies, the significance of omens and portents, the preparation of magic diagrams, the knowledge of the mystic powers of the vowels, the observation of fortunate times, and other germane mysteries, the whole being preceded by a chapter on polity, based on familiar *nīti-śāstras*. As the book is quoted in the *Praśna-mārga*, it is earlier than A.D. 1650; but its exact date is dubious.

5. DAS ŚRAUTASŪTRA DES ĀPASTAMBA. Sechszehntes bis vierundzwanzigstes und einunddreissigstes Buch. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von W. CALAND. (Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, D. xxvi, No. 4.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, 459 + i + i pp. Amsterdam, 1928.

The first instalment of this translation appeared in 1921 at Göttingen in the *Quellen der Religions-Geschichte* (Gr. 7); the remainder has been published by the Akademie of Amsterdam. The present volume is probably the most important of all, for it embraces books 16–24 and 31, which among many other topics deal with the construction of the great altar, the rituals of the Vāja-peya, Rāja-sūya, Aśva-mēdha, and Puruṣa-mēdha sacrifices, and the ceremonies of burial; and with it is now felicitously concluded the arduous labour of many years, a work of which it may be truly said that it " praiseth the Master ". Dr. Caland's translation, with its brief but helpful annotations, is a triumph of scholarship.

" Studies," Bacon remarks, " serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability." Study of the dreary and crabbed documents of brahmanic ritualism can engender little either of delight or of ornament; but it certainly may beget no small measure of ability—an insight into numberless phases of religious thought and action which is of inestimable value to those who seek to read aright the riddling history of man's culture. Among such documents, Āpastamba's *Śrāuta-sūtra*, a complete handbook of " sensual rites and ceremonies " and of an " excess of outward and pharisaical holiness " (again to quote Verulam), may be said to occupy a " bad eminence ". For that very reason it is peculiarly instructive aud precious, and Dr. Caland has laid students of many denominations under a profound debt of gratitude.

After this tribute of admiration to the work as a whole it is the reviewer's painful duty to strike a note of dissatisfaction at one detail. The " Sachindex " which concludes the book is very meagre and incomplete. Scores of data, of various degrees of importance, which might be expected to appear in it, are omitted; in fact, it is quite inadequate for purposes of reference.

6. ALT- UND NEU-INDISCHE STUDIEN. herausgegeben vom Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universität. 1. DIE RĀMA-SAGE BEI DEN MALAIEN, IHRE HERKUNFT UND GESTALTUNG, von ALEXANDER ZIESENISS. 2. DER KUMĀRAPĀLAPRATIBODHA, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṁśa und der Erzählungs-Literatur der Jainas, von LUDWIG ALSDORF. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, (1) i + 123 pp., (2) xii + 227 pp. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1928.

Among the various publications which the young and businesslike University of Hamburg is producing it is gratifying to see a special series dedicated to India, and indologists will welcome its first fruits in the present excellent monographs, which promise well for its future.

The *Ḥikāyat Śrī-Rāma*, the Malay saga of Rāma, is preserved in the recensions represented by the texts published by Roorda van Eysinga and Shellabear, besides the version given by Maxwell in the *JSBRAS.* for 1886; and the fascinating problem of its origin and relation to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has attracted the attention of several scholars. In the present work Dr. Zieseniss gives first an analysis of the story as told in the versions of van Eysinga and Shellabear, and then in his *Kritischer Teil* compares them section by section with the corresponding parts of Vālmīki's poem, with notes. Finally he sets forth his conclusions, which in sum are that (1) these two versions are derived through oral tradition from a primitive saga in which a number of episodes of the cycle were loosely strung together; (2) this saga to a considerable extent agreed with Vālmīki's poem, and where it differed, it drew most of its materials from other Hindu Rāma-legends; (3) it treated its themes in a manner and spirit which indicate that it arose long after the epic period, probably after the twelfth century and before 1600; and (4) its materials were conveyed, probably orally, from both the eastern and the western coasts of India to Indonesia, where it was put together,

and has been preserved in several versions, of which that of van Eysinga has remained most faithful to the original form of the cycle, while that of Maxwell is the most deeply influenced by the local conditions of Indonesia. Dr. Zieseniss has handled the subject in a thoroughly workmanlike manner, though in a somewhat ponderous style, and his conclusions seem on the whole to be sound. He appears, however, to have overlooked Sir George Grierson's abstract of the *Ānanda-rāmāyana* in the *BSOS.*, vol. iv, p. 11 ff., which might have usefully supplemented his materials.

Somaprabha's *Kumārapāla-pratibōdha* (published at Baroda as No. 14 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series in 1920) consists mainly of a string of homilies and fifty-eight illustrative stories, which are represented as leading up to Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism; and in the midst of its Sanskrit text are inserted various passages in Apabhramśa verse, viz. an allegorical dialogue between soul, mind, and the senses, the legend of Sthūlabhadra, a short doctrinal tract, a hymn to Pārśva, descriptions of the seasons, and forty-two odd verses, making in all about 250 stanzas. Dr. Alsdorf's work is devoted to the study of the stories and the Apabhramśa, and consists of (*a*) a list of all the tales in the *Kum.* with parallels elsewhere, (*b*) an analysis and study of the structure of the first two Apabhramśa passages, (*c*) an examination of the Sthūlabhadra-legend, which is traced in its different versions, (*d*) a short survey of the remaining Apabhramśa passages, (*e*) a grammar of the Apabhramśa of the *Kum.*, with an account of its metres, (*f*) the text of the Apabhramśa, critically edited and translated, with notes and glossary, and (*g*) an appendix containing extracts from Sanskrit authors on the legends of Śakaṭāla and Sthūlabhadra, with Jinapadma's Gujarati *Thūlibhadda-phāga* and excerpts from three *dāsas*. The work is throughout marked by accurate and methodical scholarship, and is especially valuable on the linguistic side, in which Dr. Alsdorf has distinctly enlarged the bounds of our knowledge of Apabhraṃśa and its relation to tertiary Prakrit.

7. INTRODUCTION TO PRAKRIT. By ALFRED C. WOOLNER, M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B. Second edition. (Panjab University Oriental Publications.) 8¾ × 5¾, 17 + 230 pp. Lahore, Calcutta printed: Baptist Mission Press, 1928.

Mr. Woolner's book was written for the use of Indian students, and hence is designed on lines of practical utility rather than of theoretical finesse. As such, it well merits the success which it has won; and its usefulness is not restricted to India, for European neophytes also will find it very helpful when embarking upon Prakritic studies. The grammar is succinctly set forth in Part I, especial regard being paid to Śaurasēnī and Māhārāṣtrī owing to their dominant importance in literature, and Part II comprises copious extracts from texts in various dialects—Śaurasēnī, Māhārāṣtrī, Ardha-māgadhī, Māgadhī, and others, with specimens also from Pali, the inscriptions of Aśōka and Khāravēla, and the Apabhramśa of the Bhavisatta-kahā—together with notes and translations, followed by an index of words.

Though care has been taken to rectify the misprints of the previous edition, something still remains to be done in that direction. The punctuation, spacing of words, and similar matters are capable of further improvement, and there are slips in the printing (e.g. "Indo-Arayan" on p i, *davananāhiṃ* on p. 36); nor is the statement that "aḥ becomes o" (p. 17) strictly correct. The next edition, we hope, will remove these minor defects and do justice to a good book.

8. RĀJÂDITYA-DURGASIMHÂDI KELAVU KANNAḌA-KAVIGALA JĪVANAKĀLA-VICĀRA. [Studies on the dates of Rājâditya, Durgasimha, and some other Kanarese poets.] By A. VENKAṬA-SUBBAYYA, M.A., Ph.D., LL.B. 8½ × 5¾, viii + 279 pp. Mysore: Karṇāṭaka Saṅgha, Central College, 1927.

This work has a positive as well as a negative side. In thirty-three sections the author criticises the views expressed by Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in his *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-charite* on the dates of the lives and writings of a number of Kanarese poets and sets forth his own with a notable wealth of erudition and ingenuity of argument. His main conclusions are these: Rājâditya flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, Durgasiṃha and Candrarāja c. 1035, Kavitāvilāsa c. 990–1010, Nāgacandra (author of *Rāma-carita-purāna*, *Mallinātha-p°.*, and *Jina-muni-tanaya*) about the same time, Samudāyada Māghanandi c. 1250–82, Kumudêndu (author of *Rāmāyana* and *Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-tippana*) c. 1100, Karnapārya c. 1174, Nēmicandra (author of *Līlāvati* and *Nēminātha-purāna*) c. 1185–95, Rudra Bhatta c. 1218, Dēva Kavi c. 1245–50, Kamalabhava c. 1255, Gunavarma (author of *Puspadanta-purāna*) c. 1190–1218, Sumanobāṇa c. 1223, Jagaddaḷa Sōmanātha c. 1220–45, Mallikârjuna (author of *Sûkti-sudhârnava*) c. 1263, Bālacandra (author of *Prābhṛtaka-traya-vyākhyāna*, etc) c. 1200, Boppaṇa c. 1175–1200, Ācaṇna c. 1205–10, Kīrtivarma c. 1060–5, Brahmaśiva c. 1065–8, Abhinava Śruta Muni c. 1341–51, Vrttavilāsa c. 1340, Mangarāja (author of *Khagêndra-mani-darpana*) c. 1340, Sōmarāja some time before 1530, Śiśu-māyaṇa c 1660, Śrīvardha Dēva c. 710, Guṇanandi c. 1250, Harîśvara c. 1250–70, his disciple Rāghavâṅka c. 1280–90, Kereya Padmarasa not earlier than 1260; Nāgavarma I wrote *Kāvyâvalōkana*, *Chandōmbudhi*, *Kādambarī*, *Vastu-kōśa*, and *Karnātaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣana*; the dates of Nāgavarma II (author of *Candra-cūdāmani-śataka*) and Māuktika Kavi are indeterminable; and Kanti is probably mythical. As truth usually does not spring like Minerva fully grown and completely equipped from the head of a Jupiter, but needs for her birth much painful midwifery in the form of " argument about it and about ", these differences of opinion are of good augury and the cause of Kanarese literature is sure to gain by the conflict of views between two such scholars.

9. A NEW INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS FROM HAMADAN. By Professor E. HERZFELD. (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 34.) 12¾ × 10, 1 + 7 + iii pp. Calcutta, 1928.

This inscription, which is engraved on two tablets, one of gold and the other of silver, is in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamitic, and registers the declaration of Darius: "This is the empire that I possess, from the Śaka who are beyond Sugd as far as the Kûsh, from the Hindû as far as Spardâ, which Ahuramazda has granted unto me, who is the greatest of gods." It has already been discussed by Professor Herzfeld in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for 1926, No. 42 (cf. *JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 433 f., 1927, p. 101), and the present paper is devoted by him to the consideration of some points in it which bear upon Indian history. He maintains convincingly that it must have been written between the end of 518 and the end of 515 B.C., as it implies the conquests of Sindh and Egypt, but must be previous to the expedition against the European Scyths, and that the phrase "the Śaka who are beyond Sugd" locates the home of the Asiatic Śakas in the plains beyond the Syr Darya or Jaxartes, although his argument that the Scythian tribe of *Παρικάνιοι* is still preserved in the modern Farghana is not wholly free from objection. He argues likewise, though with much less probability, that the "Θataguš" of Naqsh-i Rustam (the *Σατταγύδαι* of Herodotus) are the natives of the Panjab, the name being the Old Persian equivalent to the Sanskrit *śatagu-*, whence it follows that the Panjab was a province of Persia from the middle of the sixth century B.C. onwards, while Sindh and Gandhāra were new conquests of Darius. Be this as it may, the monograph is brimful of interesting facts and ideas.

10. REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEAR 1102 M.E. (1926–27 A.D.). By P. ANUJAN ACHAN. 12¾ × 9¼, i + i + 27 pp., 6 plates. Ernakulam: Cochin Government Press, 1928.

Mr. Anujan Achan's report on the work of his first year's service is encouraging. Useful labour has been devoted to the survey and conservation of old monuments—notably the "Travancore Lines", which broke the tide of Tīpū's advance, and the immemorial city of Tiruvañcikkuḷam—while the inscriptions of Urakam (by Nārāyaṇa Ravi Varman, A.D. 1450), the *Kokkaraṇi* at *Trichur* (*sixteenth century*), and Pullut (the Portuguese epitaph on the tombstone of a Christian priest, Mateus Vaz) give scope for epigraphic study, and art is creditably represented by some graceful frescoes in the Dutch Palace in Cochin, a fine classical image of Viṣṇu from Talakkat, and good carvings in wood. These results, though not sensational, are satisfactory, and suggest possibilities of still more important discoveries, even of the Roman period.

11. MAISŪRU-DEŚADA VĀSTU-ŚILPA [Architecture of Mysore]. By B. VENKŌBA RĀU, B.A. Vol. i. 9 × 5¾, vii + 88 pp. 48 pl. Bangalore: Karṇātaka Saṅgha, Central College, 1928.

The land of Mysore possesses a magnificent heritage of architectural beauties, which happily is under the stewardship of an enlightened Government; and interest in these precious legacies of the past is now spreading beyond official circles, as is strikingly proved by the present work, issued by the Karṇāṭaka Saṅgha, a society of scholarly Kannadigas which is doing excellent service to the cause of literary and historical culture in Kannada-speaking lands. Mr. Venkoba Rau, than whom no more competent writer on Indian architecture and antiquities is to be found, here furnishes his readers (who, we hope, will be many) with the first instalment of a description of the chief buildings in the Hoysaḷa and Drāviḍa styles which adorn the Mysore State, with a brief introduction on the characteristics of those styles; and, as is to be expected from him, he has performed his task with notable success. His Kannada diction is simple, lucid, and vigorous, and the

amount of information on details which he gives is abundant. Numerous illustrations and plans complete the excellence of the work. The only point on which the critic can express dissent is the statement on p. 3 that the Drāviḍa style is that of the pre-Aryan dwellers in the Deccan.

12. RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHES LESEBUCH . . . herausgegeben von ALFRED BERTHOLET. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. 1. DIE ZOROASTRISCHE RELIGION (Das Avestā), von K. GELDNER. 2. DIE EINGEBORENEN AMERIKAS, von K. TH PREUSS 3. DIE SLAVEN, von DR. A. BRÜCKNER. 4. DIE RELIGION DER GRIECHEN, von M. P. NILSSON. 5 DIE RELIGION DER ROMER UND DER SYNKRETISMUS DER KAISERZEIT, von K. LATTE. 6. DIE CHINESEN, von E. SCHMITT. 7 DIE JAINAS, von W. SCHUBRING. 8. DIE EINGEBORENEN AUSTRALIENS UND DER SÜDSEEINSELN, von R. THURNWALD. 9 VEDISMUS UND BRAHMANISMUS, von K. F. GELDNER 10. AEGYPTEN, von H. KEES. 11. DER ÄLTERE BUDDHISMUS, von M. WINTERNITZ. 9¼ × 6¼, (1) iv + 54 pp., (2) iii + 61 pp., (3) i + 43 pp., (4) xii + 96 pp., (5) vi + 94 pp., (6) i + 110 pp., (7) ii + 33 pp., (8) i + 48 pp., (9) ix + 176 pp., (10) viii + 57 pp., (11) vi + 162 pp. Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926–29.

The object of this series is, where possible, to furnish for each religion or group of religions under survey a "sourcebook" giving illustrative documents of it, or extracts from such documents, translated from the originals, with such brief notes as may be needful to make them intelligible. Source-books of this sort are useful and illuminative companions to students following a methodical course of instruction in the history of religion, and the present series, prepared by a band of eminent scholars, well deserves the flattery of imitation in this country. A divergence from this method is of course necessary in the case of the subjects treated in Nos. 3 and 8, for which no written texts or oral communications *ab intra* are available. As regards the other monographs it may be remarked that something (though

by no means the whole) of the practical utility of a source-book depends upon the degree of judgment with which passages especially suitable to illustrate particular aspects of the religion under survey are selected and arranged; and in this respect not all these volumes are equally satisfactory. Those dealing with the religions of Greece and Rome are here perhaps most open to criticism: the former, which contains some extracts of slight value, hardly succeeds in illustrating adequately the manifold phases of Greek religious life and is somewhat confusedly arranged in parts, while the latter devotes most of its space to the foreign cults of the Empire, though we may be grateful to Dr. Latte for the Gnostic and Neoplatonic texts given by him. The very interesting little monograph on the religion of the Slavs follows a different plan, treating separately each of the countries where the old faith survived and presented itself to the notice of contemporaries—viz. Slavia (from East Holstein to the Vistula near Danzig), Prussia, Lithuania, Samogitia, and Latvia—by giving under that head the relevant testimonies of medieval and later writers down to the seventeenth century, while for the spiritual condition of the natives of Australia and the South Sea Islands our only sources of information lie in the investigations of modern missionaries and other scholars. Thus the methods of these books are as various as the cultures which they depict; but all of them are in their kind good, some of them notably so, and the series as a whole may be heartily recommended.

Reviews on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

1. NOTES SUR LA BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. By ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. With a Preface by L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. (Société Belge d'Études Orientales.) $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, xiii + 153 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929.

Works dealing with the Bhagavadgītā are rapidly increasing in Europe, India, and America. Practically every year brings

new contributions in the form of translations, books and pamphlets; but the question is whether our knowledge of the origin, development, and doctrines of this famous poem has gone on increasing at the same rapid pace as explanations and commentaries on it have been accumulating. It is a somewhat melancholy reflection that this may not be the case.

M. Lamotte, a pupil of Professors Formichi and de La Vallée Poussin, and a scholar whose name we now meet for the first time, tells us that works on the Bhagavadgītā are less common in French than in English and German—other languages, unfortunately, do not count in the same degree. It is, then, a curious coincidence that his own book should appear at about the same time as a very interesting paper by Professor Oltramare.[1] Together with other French scholars, the late lamented Senart and MM. de La Vallée Poussin and Oltramare, M. Lamotte holds the opinion, also cherished by other scholars that the Bhagavadgītā is the work of one single author, and is preserved in the form in which it was originally inserted in the Great Epic.

In spite of all this excellent authority, we cannot feel convinced that such is the case. W. von Humboldt, whose paper on the Bhagavadgītā still testifies to his genius, held that it had been patched up from various pieces. In later times Garbe tried, with indifferent success, to sift the Vedāntic parts from the Sāmkhya ones; and Professor Jacobi as well as M. Lamotte have used much rather unnecessary learning in refuting this still-born idea. But it still remains the firm conviction of the present writer that the poem consists of several different strata. As, however, he hopes soon to publish his modest views on this subject, he will venture no further upon it here.

The work of M. Lamotte runs along fairly orthodox lines. It contains nothing startling, but gives a very useful exposition of the leading ideas of the Bhagavadgītā. As these are at times rather bewildering in their diversity, we

[1] Cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xcvii, 161 seq.

are thankful to the author who has produced a work of considerable value to his fellow scholars. Of slips we have observed next to none, though we are mildly astonished to find, in the bibliography, a fairly well-known scholar described as *Konow-Oslo, S.*

2. RĀMDĀS AND THE RĀMDĀSĪS. By WILBUR S. DEMING. (The Religious Life of India.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 223 pp. Calcutta: Association Press, 1928.

The series called "The Religious Life of India" contains a small number of well-known and useful works such as Bishop Whitehead's *Village Gods of South India*, and Mr. Kennedy's *Chaitanya Movement*, to mention only two amongst them. It is a matter of satisfaction to scholars interested in Hindu religion that the editors—among whom was the late lamented Dr. Farquhar—have apparently undertaken the publication of a further number of books dealing with similar subjects. The one recently published treats of Rāmdās and his followers, and is written by Dr. Deming, a gentleman belonging to the American Marāthī Mission whose best known member we believe to be Dr. Justin E. Abbott.

Rāmdās, whose original name was Nārāyaṇ, was a Brahmin, from the village of Jāmb within the present state of Hyderabad, and born in 1608, the year of Eknāth's death and Tukārām's birth. His life-story, apart from the miracles with which pious biographers have endowed it, presents nothing more marvellous than that of any ordinary Hindu saint. He at an early date abandoned the life of a householder and, after extensive wanderings through different parts of India, in 1644 settled down at Chāphaḷ in the Sātārā area, where he started a new religious movement. He won a number of disciples and founded several temples and maṭhs throughout the Marāṭha country. He became the revered teacher and intimate friend of the great Śivājī, though it may be a little doubtful at what time their mutual relations first were established. Rāmdās was strongly interested in Śivājī's campaign against the

Muhammadans and an ardent Swarājist. It is improbable that he was his confidential adviser at the time of the dastardly assassination of Afzal Khān; *it is, however, sure that* he connived at it Rāmdās survived his royal friend only by a year, being liberated from his bodily existence in 1681.

Rāmdās was the author of manifold works, but as a rule a somewhat indifferent writer. Nor are his doctrines of any striking originality, being simply a mixture of Vedānta teachings and *bhakti*, well-known since the time of the Gītā and through all the religious development of India. The Marātha country is one of the strongholds of the cults of Rāma, *of his family*, and *of his faithful satellite* Hanumant *or* Māruti; and of them Rāmdās was a most enthusiastic devotee. If there be a historic background to the story of Rāma's youth and exile—as I venture to think there is—the inference is that there exists a very old connection between him and the Deccan; also that the ancestors of the Marāthas were at one time strong devotees of the deified ape. In any case Rāmdās, like other sectarian leaders, gathered around him a great number of worshippers of Rāma, and his influence at one time was strong not only within the frontiers of Mahārāṣṭra. But for a prolonged period the number of Rāmdāsīs has been dwindling, though there may perhaps just now be a slight progressive movement within their ranks.

Neither the life story nor the literary activity of Rāmdās from a European point of view seem strongly attractive. However, Dr. Deming has succeeded in moulding them into a pleasant and instructive book. On the last chapter we shall not venture to pass an opinion as it contains the individual religious views of its author.

3. HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI. By R. GOPALAN. Edited for the University with Introduction and Notes by S. KRISHNA-AWAMY AIYANGAR. 9 × 6, xxxiii + 255 pp. Published by the University of Madras, 1928.

The history of the Pallavas, their origin, their greatness, decline, and fall, presents a series of entangled problems which

are still waiting for solution, and will perhaps never be solved in their entirety. Several scholars such as Fleet, Rice, and Hultzsch and, among living ones, Professors Jouveau-Dubreuil and Krishnaswamy Aiyangar have contributed to the elucidation of these problems and have spread light on the main points in Pallava history. And now Mr. Gopalan, a former research student of the Madras University, has ventured to put together the results of his own and previous researches into a comprehensive volume on the Pallavas of Kānchī. We may admit at once that he has performed his difficult task with fair success, and would like to congratulate him as well as his Guru, Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, who has contributed to his work an able introduction.

The name of the *Pallava* dynasty has been made the subject of somewhat fanciful speculations. The outward similarity with *Pahlava* (Parthian) gave rise to the theory that they were invaders from the north, and had their origin within the Arsacid kingdom. It thus only remained to conjecture, as was actually done by Rice, that the unexplained name of the Chālukyas was in reality identical with that of the Seleucids; and we might thus behold renewed, on the soil of Southern India, the far-famed battles fought long ago between the heirs of Seleucus and Arsaces. But if from the lofty atmosphere of speculations we again descend on earth we shall find that there is not even a formal reason for identifying *Pallava* with *Pahlava*. And there is no reason to doubt that the name *Pallava* is the same as the word *pallava* and is meant to translate into fashionable language the Tamil *toṇḍāi*. This again is the name of a certain creeper which was most probably at one time the totem of a local group of Southern Indian origin which became famous in history as the reigning dynasty of the Pallavas.

Viṣṇugopa of Kānchī, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, is suggested to have been a Pallava prince, and was certainly not the founder of the dynasty which may have lasted for more than six hundred years up to about

A.D. 900. It reached its greatest height in the seventh century, when Narasimhavarman I Mahāmalla successfully curbed the pride of the great Chālukyan prince Pulakeśin II and sent his victorious troops to conquer far-away Ceylon. But the Chālukyas took their revenge about a century later, and although the Pallava empire still held out for some 150 years, it was already shaken and shattered. Just at the end of the ninth century it fell a comparatively easy prey to the robust and victorious Chōlas, though local princes of Pallava extraction continued to reign until the thirteenth century, and perhaps still further.

The work of Mr. Gopalan seems to be carefully done, and contains a very useful appendix on Pallava inscriptions. As is, unfortunately, usual in Hindu books transcribed Sanskrit words are not always correctly rendered, and we are somewhat shocked at forms like *Dandin* and *Bhāṣa*. Concerning the dates of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (p. 10) the paper by Professor Jacobi in the *Sitzungsber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1922, p. 210 seq., ought, of course, to have been quoted.

4. Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India (Pre-Buddhistic Ages). By S. C. Sarkar. xi + v + 225 + iii pp. Oxford University Press, 1928.

We learn from the author's preface that this book is originally an Oxford thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which was presented about six years ago, but could only be printed in 1928. There is a foreword by Pargiter, who was once Professor Sarkar's Guru, and an introductory note by Professor Winternitz, who, although criticizing several of the author's leading theories, highly praises the scholarly instinct and unspared efforts of Dr. Sarkar and recommends his work " to all scholars who are interested in the history of Ancient India ".

We are willing partly to share in these recommendations. No doubt the learned author has with unstinted energy brought together an enormous material bearing upon social

conditions in Ancient India, and upon these collections of materials rests the main claim to value of his work which, besides, makes no easy and amusing reading. But we have found him sorely lacking in that sense of proportions and evaluation of evidence which is often wanting to a certain degree in the young Hindu scholar.

Dr. Sarkar is a firm believer in Pargiter's theories concerning the historical value of the Purāṇas, which is perhaps only natural in a devoted pupil of that remarkable scholar. But none the less, such a theory cannot be upheld to the extent to which Pargiter wished to uphold it; this is only too well proved by the consequences at which he arrived in his latest work. As far as we are aware, neither was Pargiter nor is Professor Sarkar a student of historical criticism as it has been developed in Europe. And a thorough sense of criticism is necessary to everyone who wants to handle the entangled historical problems of Ancient India; lacking which he will land himself in a quagmire of inaccuracies from which there is possibly no rescue.

That brother and sister marriage, incest and polyandry were far from uncommon in Ancient India—or rather that they were common enough not to be looked upon with disapproval and disgust—are some of the leading suggestions of the learned author. It seems to have escaped him that such startling theories cannot be proved with the aid of certain myths picked out of the Vedic, Purāṇic and other literature. Such things have certainly existed amongst primitive as well as among highly cultured peoples; and it would be senseless to deny that they have also existed—and partly still exist—within the frontiers of India. But this does not mean that such things were in Ancient India a sort of institution looked upon with approval or at least connived at by Vedic seers and law-givers, as evidence does apparently speak quite to the contrary. The present writer as a rule believes but little in the paradisiacal conditions of Ancient India which are sometimes depicted in glowing colours by her present-day scholars;

but he feels obliged to raise a protest in her favour against the suggestions of Dr. Sarkar. And this protest is nowise based on any moral indignation; it is simply raised in the name of historical evidence which has here been singularly misused.

We cannot enter here upon a detailed criticism, though many quotations from texts seem to us to be in urgent need of rehandling. Dr. Sarkar shares with many other scholars an erroneous opinion on the real nature of the *vrātyas*; but as space prohibits any discussion of this problem here, we would fain refer him to our own modest articles and to the bulky work by Professor Hauer.

5. Diaries of two Tours in the unadministered Area East of the Naga Hills. By J. H. Hutton. (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi, No. 1. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 16$, 72 pp. + xvi pl. Calcutta, 1929. Rs. 11·10.

This is a diary of two tours undertaken by Mr. Hutton and his companions during April and October–November, 1923, to certain areas to the East of the Nāga Hills. No white man seems ever to have visited these God-forsaken places with the exception of the late General Woodthorpe, who in 1876 went to some of the villages, now described by Mr. Hutton.

Head-hunting, the preparation, by various means, of enemy heads as well as their ceremonial putting up in special houses, etc., studding the paths with caltrops and spikes, and other activities just as agreeable as these seem to be the favourite pastimes of the villagers visited by Mr. Hutton. The different villages are more or less constantly at war with each other, and it is scarcely the fault of their inhabitants if such wars are not carried to the verge of extinction. Under these circumstances, it is fairly obvious that touring in this country cannot be entered upon without the protection of a strong escort—especially as the natives will scarcely show any decided aversion towards acquiring also the skulls of white men. Such conditions are, of course, not favourable to ethnological researches; and one is only astonished that

Mr. Hutton has succeeded so well in bringing together all this varied and useful information.

Of details we cannot speak here. However, every Indologist ought to be interested in the short but valuable remarks on the origin of caste marks and on the holiness ascribed to the *Ficus religiosa*.

6. THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAHĀ-NAYA-PRAKĀŚA. An Examination of Kāshmīrī as written in the Fifteenth Century. By SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M. (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi, No. 2, 12½ × 10, 73–130 pp.) Calcutta, 1929. Rs. 2·4.

What at the present day we know about Kāshmīrī—as well as about nearly every vernacular of India—is chiefly due to the wonderful and never-ceasing activities of Sir George Grierson. His last work just as much as the previous ones, testifies to his marvellous grasp of every subject connected with linguistics as well as to his intimate acquaintance with every language that was or is spoken within the limits of Aryan-speaking India.

The *Mahānayaprakāśa*, a treatise belonging to the Trika school of the Saivas, is the work of a certain Śitikaṇṭhācārya, who is said to have flourished during the reign of Husain Shāh at the very end of the fifteenth century. The language is of great interest as it marks the transition from the Apabhraṃśa stage into what has finally become modern Kāshmīrī. And of this language, Sir George has given us a most thorough and scholarly prospectus which is of value to every Sanskritist, even if he be just as unacquainted with Kāshmīrī as is the present writer.

Nothing can be said in detail concerning the excellent exposition of the grammar of the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, even if certain points might give rise to very interesting discussions. A special interest seems to attach to the word *phaha* "vapour" (p. 90), which cannot, of course, be derived from *uṣman-*. According to my humble opinion it must, in some way or

other, be connected with *bāṣpa-*, which is, of course, no real "Sanskrit" word but belongs to an old dialect with which we are so far not very well acquainted. The Prākrit forms of the word are said to be *bāha-* "tear" and *bappha-* "vapour" (cf. Vararuci, iii, 38; Hemacandra, ii, 70; Pischel, *Grammatik*, p. 209 seq.). Of these the former one apparently survives in Kāshmīrī as *bāha* "steam from boiling water", while with the latter one must evidently be connected *bahā* "vapour, mist, steam" as well as our *phaha*. But we cannot go into details here concerning the phonetic developments which would probably lead too far. We are in some slight doubt concerning the pronominal stem *ena-* (p. 109) as the suggested derivation *nŏm-*, *nĕm-* could perhaps have had a separate origin That *ti* (p. 117) is from *iti* seems obvious.

Sir George Grierson in this work once more emphasizes his well-known suggestions concerning the linguistic position of the Dardic languages. His theory has met with very moderate approval. Personally we have long felt inclined to believe that it should in some way be upheld though most details still remain obscure

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INNI DEL RIG-VEDA. Prefazione, Introduzione e Note di VALENTINO PAPESSO. I. Rig-Veda (1. Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni divulgati a cura di Raffaele Pettazzoni. 2. Religioni dell'India, Vedismo e Brahmanesimo). 8 × 5, x + 148 pp. Bologna . Nicola Zanichelli, 1929.

What will apparently be a general and extensive conspectus of the sacred lore of different religions is now being published under the able leadership of Professor R. Pettazzoni. An important place within such a collection must, of course, be reserved to the religions of India; and what we have here must apparently be the very first volume of such a series as it deals with the venerable hymn-book, which stands at the head of the whole religious development of India. Signor

V. Papesso, whose name we have not often had the pleasure to meet with before, has in this nice little volume put together an introduction dealing with the Rigveda in general, its gods and its cults, as well as a translation, accompanied by short notes, of twenty-eight hymns belonging to the first *maṇḍala*.

The introduction makes easy reading and presents the main points of the traditional opinions in the Rigveda, its composition, its language, even its age. The chapter dealing with Vedic mythology is quite orthodox in its main tendencies which is perhaps just as well in a little book like this. As for the translations they seem well done, though in general the author walks carefully along the well-trodden paths of his predecessors; and the notes, though scanty, generally contain what seems strictly necessary. We cannot criticize the translations in detail, but would like to remark that the one of I, 165 marks no progress, the much more as Signor Papesso holds the impossible idea of "separating" it from I, 170–71. A reference to the magnificent monograph of M. Dumont on the *aśvamedha* (1927) is missing (p. 131); nor does a book by the present writer in which the theories of *ākhyāna* and ritual drama are at least somewhat fully discussed seem to have attracted the attention of the learned author.

But these are minor remarks which do not detract from the general value and usefulness of the book. We shall look forward with pleasure to the following volumes of the work of Signor Papesso.

VEDISCHE MYTHOLOGIE. By ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. Zweite veränderte Auflage in zwei Bänden. I–II. pp. 547; x + 496. Breslau: M. und H. Marcus, 1927–9.

The late lamented Professor Hillebrandt just before his death in 1927 published the first volume of a second revised edition of his celebrated *Vedische Mythologie*. It was with feelings of deep regret that one thought of how this eminent

scholar had not been able to finish his *magnum opus*; but, fortunately, it turned out otherwise The complete manuscript of the second volume was found in the drawers of Hillebrandt's writing-desk. And Professor Scherman, of Munich, has earned the profound gratitude of all his colleagues by seeing it through the press in a most careful and accomplished way. A young Bavarian scholar, Dr. W. Wüst, has been his helpmate in this laborious task.

Hillebrandt did not possess the brilliancy of Bergaigne and Oldenberg, nor perhaps the extreme critical acumen of Pischel and Geldner But, on the other hand, he was possessed of a most excellent capacity of common sense to which all his writings—and especially his greatest work—bear eloquent witness. His knowledge of the Vedas and the ritual was unsurpassed, he had profound interests in the classical literature of India—as testified to by his edition of the Mudrārākṣasa and his very useful little book on Kālidāsa—and he was well read in folk-lore and the history of religions No-one could reasonably want more from an author on Vedic mythology. Also the result was an uncommonly happy one; for, from no book have we drawn and are still able to draw more useful information concerning the Vedic deities than from Hillebrandt's monumental *Vedische Mythologie.*

The present writer is the more willing to emphasize the merits of this extraordinary work as he himself does only on very few points share the opinions of Hillebrandt. That Soma is and has always been identical with the moon, the heavenly well of *amṛta*, was one of the leading ideas of Hillebrandt; it has, however, at times been hotly contested. Notwithstanding that we would fain, with a very few reservations, subscribe to this ingenious idea. Also the chapter on Agni which, together with the great treatise on Soma, makes up the bulk of the first volume seems to us to belong to the most convincing parts of the work. But we cannot believe that the Aśvins, to which most fascinating deities

very little room has been conceded, were some sort of nature deities. The opinion of the *aitihāsikāḥ* (*Yāska*, xii, 1) and of the late Professor Geldner,[1] to which we have formerly confessed our adherence,[2] still seems to hold good: the Aśvins were two beneficent rājahs of yore, "die indischen Notheiligen," to speak with Geldner. Also in the cases of Varuṇa, Indra, Viṣṇu, Pūṣan and even other deities, we differ widely from the opinions of Hillebrandt, though, for quite obvious reasons, we cannot here enter upon a detailed discussion of these various problems.

Differences of opinion, however, there are and will always be as the same facts react in totally different ways on different brains. But differences of opinion have got nothing to do with the estimation of a truly great and admirable work such as that of Hillebrandt. The profound learning, the sound argumentation, the simple but attractive style join in making it not only a useful but also a pleasant work. And there is one thing more which should not be forgotten. The late Professor Hillebrandt was a man who stuck well to his opinions but he did it in a human and tactful way His polemics might at times be somewhat pungent, but it was never ungentlemanly. Over the intricate debates of scholarship he never forgot the higher duties of humanity. Thus he will always serve as a pattern to those scholars of the future who are apt to forget that life is too short to let differences of opinion create an everlasting enmity and feelings of inhuman aversion. It is melancholy to remember that his voice is now silenced for ever.

EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE. By LUDWIG BACHHOFER. Vol. I: pp. xlvi + 137 (i), plates 1–62; Vol. II: (iii), plates 63–161. 12½ × 9½ Paris: The Pegasus Press, 1929. £9 9*s*.

We have here two very fine volumes. A random opening discloses photographs of high technical quality; and, turning

[1] Cf. *Vedische Studien*, ii, 31. [2] Cf. *BSOS*. iv, 340.

over the plates and finding among the subjects represented many old acquaintances, the reader will realize, perhaps with "a shock of mild surprise", the importance of good reproductions for a due appreciation of works of art. Nowhere, perhaps, is such assistance more valuable than in the case of Indian sculpture and architecture, designed to confront a strong sunlight with outstanding contours and deep shadows. The plates are sufficiently numerous (161) to include all that is notable (except in the case of Gandhāra) and to furnish a conspectus of the whole field. The arrangement is in order of developement, from Aśoka and early acclimatized work to Bārhūt, Bodh-Gayā, Sānchī, Karli, Bhājā and Nāsik, Amarāvatī, Udayagiri, and Khaṇḍagiri, ending with Gandhāra. The *pages de garde* repeat from the table in the Introduction the particular descriptions, references, archæological, historical and technical appreciations.

Dr. Bachhofer's introductory chapters deal correspondingly with "The Beginnings" (pp. 1–16), "Early Sculpture in India" (the Early Phase, the Golden Age, the Late Period. pp. 17–64), "The Sculpture of Gandhāra" (pp 65–90), "Buddha Statues in North-West, North, and South India" (pp. 91–114); after which comes a "Conclusion" (pp. 115–124), and a bibliography and index (pp. 125–137). The several sections end with notes and references The point of view is that of a connoisseur and technical expert, tracing the progress of artistic achievement and the developement of particular motifs, conventions, and styles. As might be expected from the author of a valuable paper on the Era of Kaniṣka (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N.F., iv, pp. 21–43), Dr. Bachhofer pays great attention also to external chronological indications, which he applies with marked skill and effectiveness. His general attitude towards his materials is similar to that of Professor Foucher and Sir John Marshall, with whose admirable chapter in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, he has, in respect of the period common to both, many points of contact.

Indian sculpture begins, in Dr. Bachhofer's view, with Aśoka. Its technical maturity he ascribes, like Sir John Marshall, to foreign influence, holding, however, that its essentially Indian spirit requires the assumption of native craftsmen, acquainted with Persian models. Such figures as the Parkham statue (*c.* 200 B.C.) give evidence of progressive Indianization and lead up to the thoroughly Indian work at Bārhūt, Bodh-Gayā, and Sānchī. The stage reached at Bārhūt itself attests an inherited skill in carving, though not upon stone. Bodh-Gayā, while mainly attached to Bārhūt, yet in some cases presages the developed art of Sānchī, with its more architectonic groups, its management of deep shadows and its comparative freedom from the dominance of the silhouette. In Sānchī, where the early school culminates, Dr. Bachhofer deduces in agreement with Sir John Marshall the chronological order of the four gateways of the great *stūpa* ; but to the fourth, western, gate, which established itself as the model for later work, he ascribes an artistic, as well as a technical, superiority over the southern and eastern, where Sir John Marshall finds a greater genius. With Sānchī, though of somewhat later date, are associated the masterly figures in the Karli caitya, the Āmohinī tablet (somewhat rustic) from Mathurā, some early reliefs from Amarāvatī and Udayagiri, and some free figures, such as the Besnagar Yakṣī and the Yakṣa Māṇibhadra from Gwalior.

The late period (A D. 75–200) is chiefly associated with Mathurā, which supplied all northern India, and with Amarāvatī in the south. Its commencement is dated by the series of statues, starting with the figure of Kaniṣka, where the crude workmanship points to a degeneracy of the older school, due to political troubles.

The characteristic of the new art is the replacement of the calm and composed forms of the golden age by mobile and lively figures and scenes often representing intimate life, drinking bouts, or coquetry. In Amarāvatī this developes into a pronounced exuberance and unrest, a tumult where all

is in exaggerated movement and the figures are sacrificed to the scenes: there is a great developement of the picturesque and an employment of expedients for realizing depth and interior spaces. While the old art was naturalistic and anything but unworldly, this sings "a wildly enthusiastic, rapturous paean in praise of terrestrial life". To this school belong also some of the reliefs at Udayagiri.

The discussion of the Gandhāra school commences with a specially careful study of excavation and numismatic data, which definitely fix its beginning in the time of Azes, about the middle of the first century B.C. It represents a taking over by the Saka rulers of the Hellenistic art of the Greek rulers. Here comes the first dateable piece, the Bīmārān vase. The next date is furnished by the Kaniṣka casket, in which, despite the clumsiness of the standing figures, Dr. Bachhofer finds some merits. With this he associates the Hārītī statue (of 399, Seleucid era); and then he proceeds to construct a scale of a fixed points, on which Shahr-i-Bahlol and Takht-i-Bāhī precede the Taxilā of the second century and the "revived" Gandhāra art of the third and fourth. He finds precise discriminating marks for this art, which he regards as wholly un-Indian and appealing to a population territorially separated from India proper.

It is in dealing with the Buddha image that Dr. Bachhofer arrives at his most original and pointed conclusions. Remarking first upon the obvious Greek origin of the Gandhāra type, establishing its marks and synchronisms—in general agreement with M. Foucher—he proceeds to show that Mathurā had originally an entirely distinct figure, representing indifferently Buddha and Bodhisattva. About the year A.D. 129 the Gandhāra type is introduced as "Buddha" and has then a vogue, which, however, fails to displace the native type. By a reflex influence the Mathurā type with the *uṣṇīṣa* as then understood, the *dakṣiṇāvarta* curls and the bared right shoulder was imported into Gandhāra, but only as a competitor with the original form, which maintained

its local supremacy to the last. In this part of his work Dr. Bachhofer is dealing with narrow periods and with precise points of great cogency; and the same definiteness appears in regard to the period of the reception of both types indifferently in Amarāvatī. Since the "war of the eras" is still proceeding, we must not say that Dr. Bachhofer's determinations are final in respect of absolute dates. But he looks closely and steadily at the artistic indications, which, despite the accidental nature of archæological finds, cannot be denied their independent right to testify; a testimony which with like fine observation and sound judgment is brought to light in the admirable papers contributed by Geheimrat Scherman to the *Munchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* (*Die altesten Buddhadarstellungen des Munchener Museums fur Volkerkunde*, 1928, pp. 64–80; 1929, pp. 147–66).

The concluding chapter is devoted to more general reflexions, the developement of the art in India, as elsewhere, "from a confused and scattered to a collected and regulated style and thence to free and dissolved forms," the early Indianization of the art ideals, the expressionism, the naturalism contrasting so marked with the super-cosmical quality which was to be dominant from the Gupta period onwards, the adherence to types, the supremacy of sculpture over architecture. It is to be noted that Dr. Bachhofer dismisses the suggestion of Roman influence upon the art of Amarāvatī. He holds (p 88) that "the unmistakable peculiarity of every artistic expression upon Indian soil is due to Dravidian blood, however much it may have been blended".

Great care has been expended upon the typography and the exterior of this work, in both its English and its German form: it is a luxurious publication. The English translation is in places awkward, and there is a certain number of misspellings and misprints.

F. W. THOMAS.

NABONIDOS AND BELSHAZZAR. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY. 10 × 7½, xii + 216 pp. Yale University Press, Newhaven, and Oxford University Press, 1929. Price 13s. 6d.

Professor Dougherty's work constitutes the fifteenth volume of the Yale Oriental Series which has already given us so many valuable books. It is, as he describes it, a study of the closing events of the Neo-Babylonian empire, starting from his important discovery that Nabonidos spent a large part of his reign, not in Babylonia, but at Temâ in Arabia, the crown-prince, Belshazzar, acting as viceroy at home. The fact throws light upon some of the events of the reign of Nabonidos, but at the same time is difficult to explain. The Professor is probably right in thinking that there was more than one reason for it; in the light of the "Persian Verse Account of Nabonidos" discovered by Mr. Sidney Smith I am inclined to believe that a leading factor was fear for his own safety; there was a strong party in Babylonia hostile to Nabonidos: he had taken part in the conspiracy which had dethroned and murdered his predecessor, and in a distant oasis where he was surrounded by his army he would have considered himself safe. Unfortunately there is as yet no cuneiform information as to where Nabonidos was from the twelfth to the seventeenth year of his reign. But such evidence as is available makes it probable that he remained in Temâ the larger part of the time and did not return to Babylon until the approach of Cyrus and the spread of Persian propaganda made it imperative for him to do so. It must be remembered that Babylonia had never been a fully united country; even Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar, "the Chaldeans," have been plausibly connected with the Kaldâ whose original seat was among the marshes on the sea-coast.

Professor Dougherty's handling of his subject is very thorough: every scrap of evidence, cuneiform, classical or Biblical is examined and the various conclusions that may

be drawn from them are impartially stated. Later writers were naturally puzzled by the relation between Nabonidos and Belshazzar, and the two names were mixed together. On the basis of a tablet dated in the eighth year of Nebuchadrezzar in which one of the witnesses, Nabu-nahid, is stated to be " over the city " and " son of a king's man ", the Professor concludes that the Labynêtos of Herodotus who assisted in drawing up the treaty between the Medes and Lydians in 585 B.C., was really Nabonidos and that the latter was sufficiently prominent at the time to represent Nebuchadrezzar and the Babylonian Government. He further argues that such being the case there is no longer any difficulty in interpreting another statement of the Greek historian as showing that Nabonidos was the son of Nitôkris, the daughter of Nebuchadrezzar. The actual words of Herodotus are (i. 188): " Now Cyrus marched against the son of this woman (Nitôkris) who possessed both the name of his own father, namely Labynêtos, and the kingdom of the Assyrians." The difficulty is that whatever view we may take of the words in question they are not historically correct; there was only one Nabonidos whose father was Nabu-balátsu-iqbi and not the same as his own. But the confusion between Nabonidos and Belshazzar in the Greek writers is complete; Josephus alone recognizes Belshazzar by name, but adds that he was called Naboandelos by the Babylonians. As for Megasthenes, the literal translation of his reference to Nabonidos is: " When this fellow (Labassoaraskos) had died by a violent death they appoint Nabannidokhos king, tho' in no wise related to him."

Was Nabonidos of Arab (or rather Arabian) origin? His mother seems to have been priestess of the Moon-god at Harran; he himself was accused of heresy and, as Professor Dougherty notes, " a text reveals that he did not venerate Marduk as the supreme deity; that honour he ascribed to Sin, the Moon-god." In Arabia the supreme deities were the Moon-god, the Sun-god, and the evening star, the Moon-god holding the first place and being specially worshipped by

the Aramæan population in that part of the country in which Temâ was situated. Sinai itself was probably the mountain "of Sîn".

However this may be, Professor Dougherty does well to draw attention to the fact that, unlike the classical writers, the author of the Aramaic portion of the book of Daniel was acquainted with the name and position of Belshazzar. This would indicate a much earlier period for the composition of the work than the Maccabean age, and would take it back to a time when memories of the Persian conquest of Babylonia were still comparatively fresh.

I may add that *ibbalakkitû* (p. 120) means "shall be stubbed up", and that a Hittite tablet (KUB iv, p. 25, 44) gives the pronunciation of the name of the star KAK-SI-DI as *Ka-ak-zi-zi*.

A. H. Sayce.

Samaria in Ahab's Time By J. W. Jack. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1929.

This is a very useful compilation which will be interesting and informative to the lay reader as well as serviceable to the Semitic scholar. Mr. Jack is possessed of good judgment and has made use of the best authorities, and the book has been brought thoroughly up to the date of publication. The recent discovery of the cuneiform tablets of Ras Shamra with their alphabetic script which has an important bearing on the origin of the Phœnician alphabet, has naturally come too late for notice. The volume begins with an excellent account of Ahab's palace, disinterred by Dr. Reisner; then we have a chapter on Israelite art as revealed by archæology, and this is followed by a chapter on the *ostraka* discovered in the palace by Dr. Reisner, which was one of the most important discoveries yet made in Palestinian archæology.

The *ostraka* belonged to the jars of wine and oil sent to the palace from certain districts by the administrative officers. As Mr. Jack points out, these were first instituted by Solomon,

whose administrative system is discussed in a very interesting chapter. The localities mentioned on the *ostraka* are identified as well as the personal names.

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to Ahab's foreign policy, which is ingeniously defended, and to the religious situation in Israel during his reign. This last chapter on the religious situation is extremely good and suggestive; perhaps Mr. Jack would ascribe too much influence to Elijah, but there can be no question that it was far-reaching. The well-chosen illustrations and maps contained in the book add to its value.

The statement on p. 36 that "business with the eastern lands could hardly be conducted with the Phœnician alphabet" should be corrected: the Aramaic dockets on the Assyrian cuneiform tablets would alone show that it is incorrect. The documents used for writing in Aramaic would have been of papyrus or parchment, and they are referred to in the cuneiform literature though all traces of them have otherwise disappeared in the damp soil of Western Asia. The statement that the inscription on the wall of the shaft of Ahiram's tomb at Jebêl "has been rapidly traced" is also incorrect. The letters are deeply incised and unusually large. I very much doubt the explanation of the form ירחו אסף on the *ostraka*. It seems to me much more probable that we have here the old case-ending of the nominative. In note 1, p. 70, the name of Professor Sellin should be inserted. Dussaud is probably right in seeing two places with the name of Yanu'am on the Egyptian monuments. At all events, the Yanu'am usually meant by them was north of Damascus. That is proved by a passage in one of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, 197, 8), which seems to have escaped Mr. Jack's notice, where the city is associated with Ubi or Hobah on the north side of Damascus (Gen. xiv, 15). If the Yanu'am of the Beishan stela was the Biblical Yanoah, this can only have been because the name of the latter place was assimilated by the Egyptian

scribe to the better known Yanu'am. Nor can I agree with the statement that the name of Yaum or Yahveh is not found in Babylonian documents of the Abrahamic age. As for Yau-bihdi of Hamath the variant Ilu-bihdi is quite sufficient to prove that Yau is the name of a god. On p. 115 it is incorrect to say that "all" the animals said on the Black Obelisk to have been brought as tribute from Muzri show that it was the northern Muzri since "apes" were included among them. The most probable explanation is that the northern Muzri and Egypt were intentionally mixed together by the Assyrian artist, the apes having really been a present from Egypt. On the following page a correction is necessary; the Late Assyrian Til-Garimmi and the Hittite Tegarama were one and the same place. Two misprints may also be noticed; on p. 17 "mason" should be "mason's" and on p. 148 "have" is printed instead of "has".

In a second edition, which is sure to be called for, it would be desirable to add an appendix containing translations, with the Hebrew text, of all the inscriptions found upon the Samaritan *ostraka*.

CLAVIS CUNEORUM. Part II. By G. HOWARDY. 9½ × 6, 560 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929.

It is some time since the preceding volume of Dr. Howardy's exceedingly useful *Clavis Cuneorum* (No. 5) appeared, but the delay in publication is more than accounted for by the contents of this first instalment of the second part of the work. It contains a list of the "rarer ideographs" with their values, significations, and Assyrian equivalents, and implies a vast amount of labour and research. The present number contains the words or ideographic expressions with the prefixes GIS "wood", SAM "herb", and Ê "house", the references belonging to them alone necessitating a large expenditure of time and hard work, more especially when the work is of meticulous accuracy and completeness. The

Clavis, in fact, is as indispensable to the Assyriologist as Brünnow's *Classified List*, and brings our knowledge of the Assyrian script up to date. In 273, 19 I should render "uru" "ploughing" rather than "irrigation".

A. H. SAYCE.

MATÉRIAUX POUR UN CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICORUM Première partie: Égypte. Tome deuxième; premier fascicule. Par M. GASTON WIET. In Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Tome 52. 14 × 11, 128 pp. Cairo, 1929.

This volume supplements Van Berchem's inscriptions of Cairo published in 1894–1903, and the present fascicule covers the mosques of 'Amr ibn el 'Âsî, Ibn Ṭûlûn, El Azhar, and El Ḥâkim, the Nilometer, and various other early monuments. Some of the inscriptions in it are taken from originals that have come to light since the former publication appeared, but a large proportion are drawn from copies preserved by Maqrîzî and other mediaeval Arab historians, the originals having been lost long ago. The accuracy of such copies can be relied upon with confidence, when one finds that wherever the writers reproduce an inscription that still remains, their copies prove to be literally exact. In this fascicule, contemporary accounts of some of the 3/9th century inscriptions still to be seen on the Nilometer and Maqrîzî's version of the only inscription of the time of the Ikhshîds now preserved, in a fragmentary condition, at Cairo, afford a test of this kind. It is easy to realize how valuable the earlier inscriptions are, not only for the history of the monuments to which they relate, but also for the deductions which can be drawn from them when the full texts are available. Among the contents of the fascicule are excellent general descriptions of the mosques of Ibn Ṭûlûn and El Azhar, from the notes of Van Berchem. In

his commentary on the inscriptions Professor Wiet follows Van Berchem's method. Besides explaining the texts thoroughly, he searches for all useful conclusions and brings together information likely to be of service. The subjects that come up for consideration are various. They include points connected with the history of the monuments or of persons associated with them, questions of topography and of law and custom. Professor Wiet is thoroughly at home in every topic and his arguments are based on a large number of passages from the Arab and other authorities, full references being always given.

To the list of inscriptions of the Khalifs of the first three centuries of the Hijra given on page 24 may be added two of Marwân II and one of El Manṣûr recorded by Jahshiyârî (fol. 40*b*), and besides the inscription of El 'Azîz at St. Mark's referred to on page 125, another is known and was published in this *Journal* for 1918, page 263. As regards the Nilometer, a curious question arises Ibn ed Dâya's story in *El Mukâfa'a* (pp. 110–12) about the Ja'farî canal when examined seems most certainly to require that the Tigris began its regular seasonal rise in November or in October, that is one or two months before the death of El Mutawakkil. But the season for the flood of the Tigris is April and May. It appears, therefore, that the story cannot be true. If this story, with all its circumstantial detail, must be rejected, can reliance be placed on what is mentioned in the course of it about the architect of the Nilometer, and how far can the information about the architect of the mosque of Ibn Ṭûlûn that comes from the same author be accepted? Turning to the *shurṭa*, one may wonder whether the mention in Ṭabarî i, 1907, l. 11, may not be taken as showing that the institution was known already in the time of Abû Bakr. While the *shurṭa* certainly acted as police, the question whether the functions of the *ṣâḥib esh shurṭa* were not, at some time, partly military, seems to admit of further discussion. In any case the *shurṭa* was obviously of great importance in the Arab state, and Professor

Wiet's full examination of the position of the *shurta* in Egypt is, therefore, a piece of work of which the value will be recognized. The subject does not seem to have been investigated at all in the same way before, and it has involved much patient and discriminating labour. Studies of the same kind in this fascicule and in other publications may be regarded as part of an organized research into Islamic history that Professor Wiet is constantly carrying on.

A. R. GUEST.

CATALOGUE GENÉRAL DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé. Par M. GASTON WIET. Full-page plates, xcii. 13 × 11, iv + 193 pp. Cairo, 1929.

This catalogue is a handsome book that anyone who cares for art might like to possess, and those who are interested in Islamic enamelled glass particularly will find a most useful guide to that subject. The principal objects of this description preserved are the mosque lamps (with an occasional suspension bulb or two also), the bottles being very much less common. A large part of the glass has inscriptions by which it can be dated, and the personages for whom it was made can be identified, and nearly all of it is found to come from Cairo and to belong to the eighth-fourteenth century, a considerable proportion of the lamps falling within a period of about twenty-five years. It was supposed formerly that the glass was made in Egypt, but the general opinion at present is that it is of Syrian manufacture.

The catalogue contains a thorough description of every example in the Museum collection, with dimensions and a bibliography giving all information that is likely to be useful to a student, such as references to any reproduction of the object that may have been published and to any discussion of its inscriptions. An appendix enumerates in chronological order all the specimens of Islamic enamelled glass known anywhere, of which the attribution appears to be certain.

It appears that, apart from small fragments, the Museum preserves 118 enamelled glass objects, of which 87 can be dated and the total number of dated objects which has been reported anywhere is between 170 and 180; a few of the reports may be duplicates, so that an exact figure cannot be given. It is from the earliest and latest examples that one can expect to get the principal clues to the problem of the origin and places of manufacture of the glass. By means of the appendix, one is able to see how rare lamps and bottles are which date from either before or after the eighth-fourteenth century, and to trace any dated piece at once so as that one can examine and consider it

The Museum collection, comprising as has been seen, about half the dated examples known, is well distributed over the period to which the glass belongs, and may be taken as thoroughly representative. The plates in the catalogue reproduce the whole of it, except minor fragments, and the few lamps that have no inscriptions or ornaments. They are on a large scale and well executed, so they give a good idea of the beauty of the objects. The lamps do not differ much in form, but there is considerable variety in their decoration. They have several different schemes of ornamentation, and where the same scheme is followed, there is generally a good deal of difference in some of the details.

The catalogue was drawn up at the desire of King Fu'âd, whose interest in the promotion of science relating to Egypt is referred to in the introduction. Such a well-devised and well-executed publication is calculated to further the educational purpose of the Museum, and is a credit to those concerned.

A. R. GUEST.

KHIZĀNAT AL-ADAB WA LUBB LUBĀB LUGHAT AL-'ARAB. By 'ABD AL-QĀDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ. Vol. I. Large 8vo, 434 pp. Cairo: Salafiya Press, 1348. (1930.)

It is nearly fifty years since this important work was first

published in A.H. 1299 (the date at the end of the last volume) and during that time it has been a constant source of information on account of the numerous works used by the author, many of which appear to be now lost. Copies have become extremely scarce and when available very expensive. It is therefore a great source of satisfaction that the owners of the press named above and Muḥammad Munīr 'Abdo of Damascus have undertaken a new edition. The present volume, which goes only as far as page 226 of the old one, has the additional advantage of important corrections by such able scholars as Ahmad Taimūr Pāshā and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maimūnī ar-Rājkōtī and having been compared with the original autograph of the author and a copy revised by ash-Shingītī.

All the verses, and other texts whenever necessary, have been carefully vocalized and errors of the former edition or those of the author himself corrected. Both paper and type are in every way superior to those of the first edition and the work when complete is to be furnished with various indices to make it more useful than its predecessor. To judge from the size of the first volume the work, when finished, will fill about nine volumes and the editors promise rapid progress towards completion.

F. KRENKOW.

AL-'UQŪD AD-DURRĪYA FI'D-DAWĀWĪN AL-ḤALABĪYA. Edited by Muhammad Rāghib at-Ṭabbākh. 8vo, 231 + 91 + 58 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

The editor is the author of a large history of his native city Ḥalab (Aleppo) and with this publication wishes to rescue from oblivion three of the poets of his town.

The first poet Ḥusain b. Aḥmad al-Jazarī died 1023 (1614). He is perhaps the best of the three poets, and his collection is by far the largest. From his eulogies upon the mighty of

his time we get historical data which will supplement historical works upon Syria for the period.

The second Dīwān by Fatḥ Allāh ibn an-Naḥḥās has been printed before in a tiny volume (Cairo, 1290) and has become almost unprocurable. He died in Mecca in 1052 (1642). The editor claims to have corrected the errors of the first edition by comparing manuscripts.

The third Dīwān has also been printed (in Beirut in 1872) and is equally scarce. It is by Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Bābī who died in 1091 (1680). His poems consist mainly of praises upon the great of Aleppo, but he has some jocose verses such as upon a lost tooth.

The collection gives us an insight into the literary activity in Ḥalab in the seventeenth century of our era.

F. Krenkow.

Kitāb an-Nujūm ash-Shāriqāt fi Ḏikr baʿḍ. aṣ Ṣanāʾiʿ al-Muḥtāj ilaihā fī ʿIlm al-Mīqāt. By Muhammad b. Abil Khair al-Ḥasanī, edited by Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh. Ḥalab, A.H. 1346 (1928).

The date of the author is only approximately known. He lived some time in the tenth century of the Hijra in Damascus. I believe that the editor is also mistaken in the title and we should read "al-Līqāt", for the book deals with a number of trade secrets such as the making of pigments, gold-leaf fluid and inks of various colours; also about treating iron and in the last chapter advice is given as to how to know the two poles of a magnet and to take away the magnetic power and to restore it. The author was not a scholar and his language is at times difficult to follow. The little book is a valuable contribution to a literature which does not often find its way into print.

F. Krenkow.

Kitāb al-Firāsa li-Filīmūn, followed by **Jumal Aḥkām al-Firāsa**. By **Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā' ar-Rāzī**. Edited by **Muḥammad Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh**. 8vo, 47 + 10 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

The learned editor discovered both these treatises on physiognomy in the Aḥmadiyya Library of Ḥalab and has made them accessible in a handsomely printed edition. The science has had many followers in the East to this day, but the two books represent perhaps the oldest treatises on the subject that have come down to us. Unfortunately we are not told in the introduction to the work of Polemon who was the translator from the original Greek. A Latin translation was printed as long ago as 1583, and I believe that the Greek original does not exist. As regards the date of Polemon there appear some doubts as he is generally placed in the second century of the Christian era, but if he really came into personal contact with the physician Hippocrates, as stated in the introduction to the Arabic translation, he must belong to a much earlier period.

The author of the second treatise is well-known and died in A H. 311 (923). I hope to publish a translation of both treatises as they may be of general interest.

F. Krenkow.

As-Safīnat an-Nūhiyya fi s-Sakīnat ar-Rūhiyya. By **Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl al-Khuwayyī** 8vo, 4 + 34 pp. Ḥalab, 1347 (1929).

Brockelmann in his *History of Arabic Literature* mentions the author, but wrongly gives the date of his death as the year 630. He was born in A.H. 583 and informs us himself in his work that at the age of ten he had already commenced his studies and though he studied law for a time he was desirous of taking to medicine; he read the Masā'il of Ḥunain b. Isḥāq, the Murshid of ar-Rāzī, the Dakhīra of Thābit b. Qurra, but medicine did not appeal to him and he opened

a shop near the house of his father. The love of study remained however, and after his son was born he journeyed to Baghdad to Ibn Hubal (died A.H. 610, cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a I. 304) to read with him the Qānūn of Ibn Sīnā; then he travelled to Hamadān, having heard of the great reputation enjoyed by 'Alā' ad-Dīn at-Tā'ūsī (probably 'Alī b. Mūsā whom Brockelmann places in the second half of the seventh century of the Hijra) and studied under him, and at last he went to Khorāsān to Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, who he says was without equal in his time. Meanwhile he had also devoted himself to Shāfi'ī law and became chief judge of Damascus. He had been of a weak constitution all his life and died at Damascus in A.H. 637 (the date 687 given in the edition of the Ṭabaqāt of Subki is probably a printer's error.) Owing to his philosophical training his treatise upon the soul does not begin with verses of the Qur'ān but with the opinions of physicians, followed by the opinions of philosophers, then those of wise men, mystics (Arbāb al-Qulūb), ordinary people. These are followed by the classification of souls in which the lowest category is given to plants. The seventh chapter contains considerations for the purifying of the soul and the cleansing of the spirit and the concluding chapter gives the author's own deductions and some of the details of his biography, which have been utilized in the sketch of his life above.

It would be very desirable that this short work should be made more widely known by a translation and we must be grateful to the editor for having made this rare and remarkable treatise accessible in a neatly printed edition by his own press. F. KRENKOW.

KITĀB AD-DALĀ'IL WAL I'TIBĀR 'ALĀ L-KHALQ WA T-TADBĪR. By ABŪ 'UTHMĀN 'AMR IBN BAḤR AL-JĀḤIZ, edited by MUḤAMMAD RĀGHIB AṬ-ṬABBĀKH. 8vo, 80 pp. Ḥalab, 1346 (1928).

Any new work of al-Jāḥiẓ must incite curiosity and a study of the book in question will once more prove what a keen

observer the author was. A manuscript was known, bearing the somewhat different title "Kitāb al-'Ibar wal I'tibār, in the British Museum (Or. 3886), and my friend Mr. Gibb had taken a copy with the intention of publishing it, but, as I learned from him, he had presented his copy to Aḥmad Zekī Pāshā in Cairo. There may even be some doubts as to the authorship, but the general tone of the arguments is much in favour of believing the book to be the work of the philosopher of Baṣra. A comparison of the edition, which is derived from a manuscript in Ḥalab, shows marked differences from the British Museum manuscript, which as a rule is much shorter in each section and closes long before the printed text, but against this it contains a long introduction in which the author mentions some other writers on the same subject, which is missing in the print This addition I hope to publish *in extenso* in another place. It is rather a pity that the editor could not make use of the additional manuscript, though the divergencies are at times so great as to present parallel texts with the same arguments but in entirely different wording.

F. KRENKOW.

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE A Human Geography by L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON. With a chapter on the Climate by W. G. KENDREN. 9 × 6, xviii + 333 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Price 15*s*.

The author of this work was a holder of an Albert Kahn Fellowship, and, like Lowes Dickinson and other holders of that Fellowship, he has fully justified its value by the book that it has enabled him to produce. It deals in fourteen chapters with The Land and the People; Natural History; Agriculture and Industries and their Geographical Relations; Trade Routes, and their Relation to Industry and Commerce; The Geographical Aspects of Chinese Culture; The General

Conformation and Topography of China and its Dependencies; The Structure and History of the Great Land Formation. Its final chapter, by W. G. Kendren, treats in an exhaustive manner the Climate. Space forbids the entering into a detailed account of each chapter, but Chapter x on Chinese Culture will be found especially interesting to the general reader. Authorities have been carefully consulted, including our old friend Wells Williams' *Middle Kingdom*, the value of which has survived many years, for it was in its first edition the chief text-book on China so far back as the seventies of last century. The author states that the original conception of his work was due to Professor Roxby and Dr. John Johnson, and he acknowledges the assistance he has received from Professor Soothill, Lady Hosie, Mr. Liu, and others. Like so many others who have had the good fortune to reside in China, he finds that country an abiding memory. He states: "China is a mistress who, when once one has known her, does not easily disappear from the memory, and often as I look at the Gingko trees transplanted to our pleasant groves in Oxford, I wonder whether ever again I shall see the parent stems burst into leaf in the courtyards of the temples in the ancient city of Kambaluc." Not a few former residents in China wonder like him whether they will ever again revisit the scenes of their happy days in that country. The illustrations are numerous and good, and the work is plentifully supplied with maps, but there is no general map of China, the addition of which is suggested when a second edition is required.

The work, which is well written and has been excellently produced by the Clarendon Press, will be found a most useful book of reference.

J. H. S. L.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC EVENTS IN MANCHURIA. By Sir HAROLD PARLETT, C.M.G. (Royal Institute of International Affairs) 9½ × 6½, viii + 92 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. 4s. 6d. net.

This monograph on events in Manchuria was prepared for the biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was held recently at Kyoto, and published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. As the late Mr Headlam-Morley, Chairman of the Publications Committee of that Institute, states in the Preface, "the Institute has been peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of Sir Harold Parlett as the writer of this short history. His long connection with His Majesty's Consular and Diplomatic Service has enabled him to bring to the record an unrivalled first-hand knowledge of the events with which he deals." Those events he has treated in an interesting, clear, and impartial manner, and in view of the important part which Manchuria has played during the last thirty years and is likely to continue to play in the future, we can strongly recommend to those who wish to know the past and present position of affairs in Manchuria, the able monograph which Sir Harold Parlett has written.

J. H. S. L.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE, 1906–1926. Being a Classified List of the literature issued in European languages since the publication of Fr. von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of the Japanese Empire* up to the year 1926. Compiled by OSKAR NACHOD. 2 vols. 10 × 6½. London: Edward Goldston; Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann. 1928.

ESSAI SUR LA MYTHOLOGIE JAPONAISE. By NABUHIRO MATSUMOTO. AUSTRO-ASIATICA, documents et travaux publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski. Tome ii. 10 × 8, 144 pp., avec 9 planches. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Nippon Shindo Ron, or the National Ideals of the *Japanese People*. By Yutaka Hibino, LL.B. (Imp. Univ., Tokyo), Founder of Ikuye Commercial College, Nagoya, formerly Principal of First Government School, Aichi Prefecture, and Member of Parliament Aichi Prefecture; translated with an Introduction by A. P. McKenzie, M.C., M.A. 9 × 6, 176 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1928.

Die Alt Japanische Jahreszeitenpoesie aus dem Kokinshu, in Text und Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen von Alexander Chanoch. Sonderdruck aus Asia Major Vol. IV, Fasc. 2/3. 10½ × 7½. Leipzig. 1928.

Ainu Life and Lore. Echoes of a Departing Race. By the Ven. Dr. John Batchelor. 9 × 6½, 448 pp, with 95 illustrations, 15 being in full colour. Tokyo.

These five publications are representative of the intensive study which Japanese and Europeans are devoting to the history, literature, folklore, and ideals of Japan.

The Bibliography by Oskar Nachod continues from 1906 the work carried to that year by the late Fr. von Wenckstern. The preface states: "The publications dealing with Japan issued in the German, English and French languages have been brought together very extensively. Besides there are a good number of contributions in Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, whereas the harvest gathered from literature in the Scandinavian and Slavic languages is a small one." The bibliographical work on Japan in Russian is fortunately filled by the work of S. N. Matweew and A. D. Popow, who have allowed the author to use ample material from their *Bibliography on Japan*. The subject is divided into fifteen different sections and contains 9,575 items—a most useful and important compilation.

From the actuality of bibliography we turn to the nullity of myth, although after reading Dr. Matsumoto's *Doctoral Thesis*, presented to the Sorbonne, one may well doubt the

suitability of the term "nullity" as applied to the myths of Japan! The work is divided into an introduction, four chapters, and two appendices. First a *résumé* of Japanese myths is given, the gods of Izumo, the descendants of the Sun and the tribes of Kyushu are then studied in turn; and finally analogies are drawn between the myths of the Japanese and those of southern peoples and of the Ainu.

Dr. Matsumoto disagrees with various conclusions reached by Aston, Nachod and other Japanologues and closes his dissertation with the statement of his belief that the mythology of Japan results from the fusion of many local traditions which have in the passage of time been dominated by the cult of the great goddess Amaterasu, ancestress of the Japanese Imperial line.

This firm belief in his divine descent is the basis of the attitude the Japanese people assume towards their ruler; an attitude difficult for Occidentals to grasp, but one which should be elucidated by the excellent work of Yutaka Hibino, ably translated by A. P. McKenzie, whose admiration for the Japanese is unbounded. He describes them as "the greatest the most progressive, the most virile, the most flexible and adaptable, and the most intelligent of Asiatic peoples"; whether such an unqualified statement should be applied to a race so highly assimilative and so slightly creative is a question that would bear argument were space available. There is, however, no question but that the ideals of the Japanese people are set forth in this book which is well epitomized in the legend on the jacket:

"The importance of this work, which was originally written for the stimulation and inspiration of Japanese youth, is due to the fact that it deals exclusively with conceptions with which every Japanese is familiar; it gives a systematic exposition of the political and social creed which developed during the great Meiji period of 1868–1912 and now forms the basis of the common intellectual life of the people."

To understand the remarkable Meiji period a comprehension

of the political and social creed is essential, nor could it be more clearly stated than by this forceful leader of Japanese thought who has also written on *Pure Loyalty, The Ideal of the Japanese Subject, Athletics from Practical Experience,* and so on. Complete devotion on the part of every Japanese subject to his Emperor is the theme of Mr. Hibino's discourse and General Nogi is the hero held up as a shining example. A most interesting and illuminating book.

The study of Japanese seasonal poems from the Kokinshu is a part of the Doctoral thesis presented by Alexander Chanoch to the University of Hamburg in 1924. As he explains in the foreword, he has been at pains to give a rendering of these ancient texts which will bring over as completely and literally as possible the thought in the poet's mind and in so doing has avoided Western poetic forms and their pit-falls. In this method lies, so it seems to me, the whole value of translation. It is important that the tenour of Oriental thought be comprehended by the West. Poetic forms cannot pass from one language to another.

Dr. Chanoch in an interesting Introduction analyses the Kokinshu, touches on the masterly technique of the men who wrote it, describes plays on words and other matters necessary to the comprehension of the poems and then gives, in transliteration and translation, the six books of "Seasonal Poems" written so long ago. The German renderings are charming, as, for instance, the following:—

"Wohlan ihr Kirschen, auch ich werde abfallen. Wenn die ein-malige Kurze Blütezeit vorbei ist, werde ich von den Menschen schlechte Behandlung erleiden."

Short notes on forty-seven of the poets who contributed to the collection bring a most interesting volume to a close.

The Ven. Dr. John Batchelor is described by his publishers as "the greatest living authority on the language, customs, religion, and folk lore of the Ainu people"; nor can one doubt the accuracy of this statement. He first visited the Ainu in 1877; in 1879 he joined the Church Missionary

Society, with which body he laboured until his retirement in 1924, and since the said retirement he has been living in Hokkaido helping the Ainu people as a private individual. From the depths of his knowledge he speaks in the profusely illustrated book before us. It contains fifty-six chapters does this fascinating book, chapters with most intriguing titles: "The Vines of Heaven and Sympathic Magic"; "A Woman, losing her twelve Sweethearts, at last Marries a Metamorphosed Bear"; "Witchcraft and Ophiolatry," and so on. It is surcharged with folk lore, mystery and legend so sympathetically told that it is not difficult to believe that the Ven. Dr. Batchelor is in receipt of a pension from the Hokkaido Government "*in recognition of his work among* the Ainu race".

F. AYSCOUGH.

THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE POETRY. An original essay by V. W. W. S. PURCELL. With *illustrations* from ancient Chinese Drawings. 9 × 6, 43 pp. Singapore, Shanghai and Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd.

The key to Mr. Purcell's work is contained in the note which precedes the book itself; and as it is important to use the key which an author may proffer I quote the note in part:

"The genius of China is in its written language, in the curves and squares and dashes of its mystic signs. And the purest spirit of the language, as in all languages, is in its poetry."

It is to be regretted that this point of view has not been more universally recognized. Writing in 1886, *A Memorandum for the Guidance of the Student,* Sir Thomas Wade, whose lessons contained in the *Yü Yen Tzŭ Erh Chi* have been the basis for Anglo-Saxon sinology since their first appearance in 1867, said: "I have insisted much in the Preface to the First Edition upon the danger of being seduced by the attractions of the written language." In this sentence the eminent exponent of colloquial Chinese did, I venture to think,

a great disservice to the cause of sinology and incidentally to the greater cause—the understanding of the East by the West; an understanding greatly helped by a recognition of the "genius which is the written language".

Mr. Purcell's little essay—it runs to only forty-three pages, is a delight: a rare example of a sensitive appreciation which can bridge the chasm of alien thought and speech. To this matter of alien thought he is keenly alive; his analysis of the Oriental and Occidental view-points is excellent; and the "exercise" which he recommends in a charming "envoy" should be followed by all who are interested in the forms of Eastern thought, to all who desire to comprehend the spirit of the Chinese language which "is in its poetry".

F. Ayscough.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January—March, 1930)

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

Thursday, 9th January, 1930

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The special general meeting summoned to pass (1) the Burton Memorial Trust Deed; (2) the following additional paragraph to Rule 4 of the Society's rules :—

> Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

Both recommendations were carried unanimously.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

9th January

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

Mr. K. P. Jha was elected a member, and twelve nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. H. A R. Gibb lectured on "The Origins of Arabic Poetry". Professor Margoliouth, Sir Denison Ross, Professor Nicholson, and Dr. Barnett spoke, the President addressed the meeting, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

The paper will appear in a subsequent number.

13th February

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Dr. Phul Chand Addy.
Mr. J. Andaraj.
Sir Charles G. H. Fawcett.
Miss Z. K. Hussain.

Mr. K. Sharama Khan.
Mr. K. G. Krishnan.
Mr. Anthony Ferdinand Paura.
Mr. S. K. Rahman.
Mr. Gustavus Martin Sewell.
Mr. A. H. Siddiqi.
Khan Ahmad Ali Sufie.
Mr. Vadamalai T. Sevuga Pandya Thevar.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Dr. A. M. Blackman read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Drama in Ancient Egypt", of which the following is an abstract:—

Dr. Blackman began by showing how deeply the dramatic sense was implanted in the Egyptian people, the drama entering into all their more important religious rites, such as The Opening of the Mouth (the rite by which a statue was consecrated and identified with the divinity or person whom it represented), the Funerary Liturgy and the Temple Liturgy. In all these rites the priestly performers impersonated gods or goddesses, and were appropriately masked or wore their attributes.

Dr. Blackman then proceeded to deal with the main subject of his lecture, a dramatic text, composed at the very beginning of Egyptian history, probably when Menes made Memphis the capital of the newly united kingdom.

The object of this composition was to glorify Memphis and its god Ptah, and to make that city not merely the political, but also the religious and cultural centre of Egypt.

This document consists of a long narrative which associates with Memphis all the happenings connected with the feud between Horus and Seth, the division of Egypt between those two divine rulers, the deposition of Seth by Keb the Earth-god, and the accession of Horus (the prototype of all Egyptian kings), the son of Osiris, as sole ruler of the whole country, and the death, burial, and resuscitation of Osiris. The narrative then goes on to tell of the building of Memphis,

and ends with a remarkable theological treatise on the nature of Ptah.

This narrative is interspersed with dramatic sections illustrating the events previously described. The speeches were pronounced by actors, standing possibly on a stage, wearing masks when they were impersonating an animal-headed divinity. That they actually acted is shown by the fact that the speeches in question were interspersed with stage directions, indicating the necessary action and gestures.

This ancient play finds a very close parallel in our mediaeval miracle plays, and, strange though it may seem to say so, the modern cinema, where also a long series of dramatic incidents is broken up by a narrative thrown on to the screen.

In ancient Egypt the narrative would have been recited by a reader standing or seated in front or beside the performers. The speeches put into the mouths of these performers are composed in the earliest form of the Egyptian language known to us and are taken from sacred writings that must date from before the Dynastic age.

The most interesting part of the text is the end, dealing with the speculations of the Memphist theologians. These theologians took over the older and cruder Heliopolitan theology and gave it an entirely new significance.

All powers participating in the creation are merely manifestations of Ptah, the god of Memphis. Ptah is both the father and mother of the old Heliopolitan creator god Atum, who came forth as a thought from the heart and tongue of the creator god of Memphis. In heart and tongue are embodied the two gods Horus and Thoth, and through them Ptah has transmitted his power to all other gods.

The organ of creation is "the mouth, which named all things", in which resided the old time gods of Heliopolis as teeth and lips.

Shu and Tefnut, according to the Heliopolitan teaching begotten by Atum (in Memphis theology only a thought of

Ptah) and spat out of his mouth, came forth from the Almighty mouth of Ptah as thought expressed by the tongue.

In all living beings heart and tongue as the representatives of the creator govern the other limbs, and teach them that the creator himself is "in every body and in every heart" and in them, his representatives, he thinks and commands all he wills.

From this creator all things that Nature produces have come forth. He is also the source of civil and moral order in the world.

Such an intellectual conception of creation and of world-order is most remarkable, and hardly to be expected at so early a date as 3500 B.C. and yet that is the time when this document must have been compiled.

In this teaching is foreshadowed the doctrine of the Logos, expounded by Philo in Alexandria and later adopted and developed by Christian theologians—the writer of the Fourth Gospel and the leaders of the great school of Christian theology in Alexandria.

This Memphis teaching was certainly preserved as late as the time of Shebak of the twenty-fifth dynasty (from whose reign our copy of the text dates) and was probably known to, and discussed by, learned Egyptian priests in the Ptolemaic period. Philo, an Egyptian Jew, may well have gained his idea of the Logos from Egyptian sources, and the Christian fathers will also have been influenced not only by the teaching of Philo but by ideas widely disseminated among the learned of Alexandria.

It is becoming more and more clear, as our knowledge of Egyptian religious writings increases, how important the story of the Egyptian religion is, not only for students of the Old Testament, but of the New Testament as well. Through the Greco-Egyptian scholars and theologians of Alexandria ideas first dimly propounded in the temples of ancient Egypt were spread abroad over Europe and the whole Christian world.

13th March

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society:—

Dr. Mathumal Kallaty Bhaskaran.
Mr. D. A. Jessuram Cardozo.
Babu Haripada Sen Gupta
Miss Hameed Mohd. Husain.
Mr. H. S Ramaswamy Iyer.
Mr. K. L. Khanna.
Dr. S. C. Nath.
Dr. Andreas Nell.
Pandit Uttam Singh Rao.
Lieut.-Col. E. R. Rost, I.M.S. (retd.)
Mr. Leslie de Saram.

Four nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. R. C. F Schomberg read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The People of Sinkiang".

A discussion followed in which Sir Denison Ross and Mr. Sallaway took part The President addressed the meeting, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

An abstract of the lecture follows.

The modern province of Sinkiang comprises Chinese Turkestan proper, the old province of Ili or Kulja, the Khanate of Kumul or Hami, and part of the former province of Outer Mongolia.

So great a region, situated in Central Asia, necessarily comprises a number of different races, which may be grouped under three heads · (1) the settled indigenous population; (2) the nomads; (3) the immigrants.

The settled indigenous population consists of the Turkis, who are found in the south of the province between the Tian Shan and the Kuen Lun, and in the Khanate of Kumul in the extreme east.

The Turki is the original settler, as distinguished from the nomads, in Central Asia.

The Turki is easy-going but not very interesting, and he is above all things a trader, not a merchant of great enterprise, but a petty dealer.

Besides the Turki, the Doulans have a claim to be reckoned amongst the settled dwellers in Sinkiang. They are not very numerous, and live along the Yarkand River, with their chief town at Merket, about 40 miles north of Yarkand City. They appear to be Mongols who have comparatively recently embraced Muhammedanism, although some men claim origin from an ancestor in Darel, on the Indus. Their customs and habits show several typically Mongol tendencies.

The nomads of Sinkiang may be divided into two classes, viz. the Mongols and the Moslems.

The Mongols generally are divided into two groups, the Khalka or Eastern Mongols who use a different script, and the Western Mongols—the term is a Russian one.

The connecting tribe between these two groups is the Uriankhai Mongols, themselves divided into two, the Yenisei who differ in speech and type (and are often Shamanistic) from the Kobdo and Altai Uriankhai who are more allied with the Torguts.

The Torguts are certainly the most numerous of all the Mongols in Sinkiang, and are divided into three groups, at Yulduz, Khobuk Saur, and Shikho.

The Torguts are remarkable people, in that the generality of them pass their lives in an amazing state of filth, discomfort, and degradation, gambling, drinking, and opium smoking, and this unidyllic existence is not due to poverty but to inclination. On the other hand, their leading men are often strangely, even disconcertingly modern—speak Turki, Chinese, Russian, sometimes even English and French.

Besides the Torguts, the other Kalmucks are :—

The Zungurs, who live in the Kash valley, and the Charkhars, who were settled in the west of the province by the Chinese, who feared their virility near Peking.

The Mohamedan nomads fall into three clear divisions as the Kirei Kasaks, found from the Borotala to the Altai; the Kasai Kasaks, found in the Ili valley, throughout the mountains of Zungaria, and in parts of the Tian Shan; and the Kirghiz.

The Kirghiz are found throughout the Southern Tian Shan from Korla to the Pamirs, and again along the northern side of the Kuen Lun. They are also met with in the Pamirs as far as Tash Kurghan, and a few families are settled in the Ili valley and near Turfan.

The Kirghiz are generally pleasant, passably clean, less addicted to thieving than the Kasaks, and considerably more cowardly.

The immigrants into Chinese Turkestan are very varied, but pride of place must be given to the Tungan or Hwi-Hwi, the Chinese Moslem, who have dwelt there so long that they may perhaps be regarded as settlers.

The Tungans are Shiahs, with perhaps some tinctures of Hanbalism. They are divided into the Da Fang, the orthodox, and Shao Fang or modernists, who do not go to Mecca, and are a small minority.

There are also in the Ili district a number of Manchus, both of the Solon and Shipo (Sheppeh) clans. They are nearly all farmers, are prosperous, but do not get on very well with the Turki cultivators.

The Manchus strike a traveller as intelligent and practical. They usually speak several languages, and have the attributes of a ruling race.

Since the Russian revolution, large numbers of Russians have entered the province, and have become either farmers or traders.

It is difficult to give an idea of the population of the province, but the late Governor put it down as about six millions. Of this figure, the greater part is found south of the Tian Shan, and must necessarily be Moslem and largely Turki.

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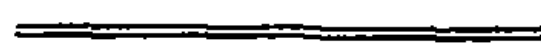
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